

T R A V E L S
I N T O
P O L A N D, R U S S I A, S W E D E N,
A N D
D E N M A R K.

I N T E R S P E R S E D W I T H H I S T O R I C A L R E L A T I O N S
A N D P O L I T I C A L I N Q U I R I E S.

I L L U S T R A T E D W I T H C H A R T S A N D E N G R A V I N G S.

B Y W I L L I A M C O X E, A. M. F. R. S.

F E L L O W O F K I N G ' S C O L L E G E, C A M B R I D G E; A N D C H A P L A I N T O
H I S G R A C E T H E D U K E O F M A R L B O R O U G H.

I N T W O V O L U M E S.

V O L U M E T H E S E C O N D.

L O N D O N:

P R I N T E D B Y J. N I C H O L S,
F O R T. C A D E L L, I N T H E S T R A N D.

M D C C L X X X I V.

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B O O K V.

C H A P. I.

Account of Peter III.—He is appointed great-duke by the empress Elizabeth.—Espouses the princess of Anhalt Zerbst.—Discontented.—Resides at Oranienbaum.—Constructs a fortress.—Disciplines the garrison.—Intrigues to exclude him from the succession.—Defeated.—Death of Elizabeth.

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—Accession

TRAVELS INTO RUSSIA.

—*Accession of Peter.—His rage for reformation.—Irritates by his imprudent conduct the clergy, the army, and the nobles.—His enthusiastick admiration of the king of Prussia carried to a most ridiculous excess.—His inconsistent behaviour to his consort Catharine.—Her great abilities, prudent conduct, and popularity.—Ill-treated by the emperor.—In danger of being arrested.—Heads a party.—Meetings of the insurgents.—Peter's blindness and infatuation.—Catharine escapes from Peterhof.—Harangues the guards.—Ascends the throne.—Her manifesto.—Advances against the emperor.—His arrival at Peterhof.—Despondency and irresolution.—Sails to Cronstadt.—Is refused admittance.—Retires to Oranienbaum.—Resigns himself into the hands of the empress.—Signs his abdication, is conveyed a prisoner to Robscha, and dies.—His body laid in state and interred.—Lenity of the empress to his adherents.*

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V.

THE revolution of 1741 placed Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great and Catherine I. upon the throne of Russia. The year following the empress nominated her nephew Charles Peter Ulrick, son of Charles Frederick duke of Holstein-Gottorp, and of Anne, daughter of Peter the Great, successor to the crown. Accordingly that prince, then only fourteen years of age, having publicly embraced the Greek religion, was appointed great-duke of Russia, with the accustomed formalities. He assumed the name of Peter Feodorovitch. In 1745 he espoused Sophia Augusta princess of Anhalt Zerbst, who, upon being rebaptized according to the rites of the Greek church, was called Catharine Alexiefna. She was born in 1729, and was sixteen years of age at the time of her marriage. Their only issue were the present great-

great-duke Paul, born 1754; and Anne, who was born in 1757, and died in 1761. CHAP.
I.

During the first years of their marriage the most perfect union subsisted between them, which however was at length succeeded on both sides by mutual aversion and disgust. Peter, whose mind had been warped by a bad education, and who was purposely estranged from political affairs, was held by Elizabeth in a state of dependence: a prey to idleness, and without the power of amusing himself with rational occupations of literature, he gave himself up to the most trifling pursuits, or to the lowest gratifications. He was perpetually beset by spies, who occasionally made the most unfavourable reports of his conduct to that empress, ever suspicious of his intentions, and who was constantly alarmed with the dread of a revolution similar to that which had placed her upon the throne. When he was at Peterburgh he had apartments in the imperial palace, and lived more in the style of a state prisoner, than of a successor to the crown. When the empress removed to Peterhof, he was permitted to reside at his favourite palace of Oranienbaum, where he indulged that taste for military pursuits which became his sole amusement during the latter years of Elizabeth's reign. He began by drawing out his servants in a body, trained them to military exercise, and was accustomed to attend regularly at the hours appointed for that purpose. The empress, considering this employment as an innocent amusement, and likely to draw his attention from political intrigues, ordered a small body of soldiers to be draughted from several regiments, who were allowed to repair to Oranienbaum, and to be quartered in that place.

Peter was eager in the pursuit of his new occupation. He built in the garden a fortress in miniature, a few feet square,

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by which he studied practical fortification. Pleased with this first essay, he caused a larger and more regular fortress to be constructed near the palace: within was a brick house for himself, called the governor's house, wooden habitations for the principal officers, and barracks capable of containing 1500 soldiers. Every thing wore a martial appearance: the hours of morning and evening parade were marked by the firing of cannon; a regular guard was stationed; the troops were dressed in the German uniform, and taught, under his inspection the Prussian discipline. This house in the fortress was the principal scene of his convivial entertainments; there, when he was not employed in exercising his troops, or in issuing his military orders, he amused himself in drinking and smoking with the officers; and he generally pushed the pleasures of the table to an excess of intoxication.

Mean while, impatient of the constraint under which he was kept by the suspicious Elizabeth, he occasionally broke out into open and bitter invectives: he was often heard to say, that he had been called into Russia in order to be confined like a state prisoner, frequently expressed a desire to return into Holstein, and founded his only hopes of comfort on the death of Elizabeth. These expressions, always carried to the empress, and either wantonly exaggerated, or malignantly interpreted, made such an impression on that princess, who became more and more suspicious as she advanced in years, that she was once nearly prevailed upon, by the chancellor Bestuchef, to exclude him from the succession, and to declare his son Paul her heir, and Catharine regent, in case of a minority. Bestuchef represented to the empress, that Peter had by his conduct proved himself unworthy of the crown; that he openly expressed the utmost contempt
for

for the Russian nation, and placed his whole confidence in foreigners; that he was guilty of the basest ingratitude to her; and that she would confer a signal service upon her subjects, by excluding a person so disqualified for directing the reins of empire. Elizabeth, won over by these arguments, and alarmed by the apprehensions of a conspiracy said to be forming against her person, almost consented to the proposal; but, upon more serious reflection, she persevered in her former appointment of Peter, and Bestuchef* was disgraced. Such was the situation of the court, when Elizabeth died on the 25th of December, 1761.

Upon this event, Peter III. assumed the reins of government, with all the joy of a person enlarged from a long imprisonment into a state of the most perfect liberty. He immediately released the principal state-prisoners who had been confined by Elizabeth: among these were Biren duke of Courland †, marshal Munich ‡, and Lestof §; and in all state affairs he conducted himself upon political principles diametrically opposite to those of the late empress.

Elizabeth, at the time of her decease, was, in conjunction with the courts of Vienna and Paris, engaged in a war with

* Of all the principal nobles disgraced by Elizabeth, Bestuchef was the only one who was not recalled to court by Peter III. A strong proof of his intrigues against that prince; who, with all his weakness, was of a temper exceedingly humane and forgiving. He was recalled at the accession of Catharine.

† Biren was a native of Courland, the favourite and prime-minister of the empress Anne; elected, at her recommendation, duke of Courland. At her death, in 1740, he became regent during the minority of the young emperor Ivan. The same year he was arrested by marshal Munich; and Anne, mother of the emperor, proclaimed

regent in his stead. He was first confined at Schlusselfburgh; and afterwards, at the accession of Elizabeth, sent to Yarossaf, from whence he was recalled by Peter III. He was restored to the duchy of Courland by Catharine II. and died at Mittau.

‡ For an account of marshal Munich see the next chapter.

§ Lestof was a surgeon; by birth a German: he was favourite to Elizabeth, and assisted her in planning the revolution of 1742. But that ungrateful princess forgot this favour; and, because Lestof grew haughty and impertinent, she banished and detained him in prison until she died.

TRAVELS INTO RUSSIA.

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the king of Prussia, which promised a speedy and glorious termination. Frederick's resources were nearly exhausted; and, notwithstanding the vigorous and successful opposition he had hitherto maintained, he seemed on the point of being overwhelmed by the number and perseverance of his enemies. But Peter had no sooner ascended the throne, than, sacrificing every other consideration to his extravagant enthusiasm for the character of the Prussian monarch, he dispatched an envoy to Berlin, in order to propose an immediate reconciliation. Frederick acceded to the proposal without delay: and a suspension of hostilities was soon concluded. Peter recalled his foldiers from the Austrian army: and in a short interval sent a reinforcement of 20,000 men to his favourite hero. Thus, within the space only of a few months, Russian troops joined the Prussian army, in order to drive from Silesia those very Austrians, who not long before had been brought into that province by the Russian arms.

Having gratified his inclination in this treaty without consulting his allies, or the interests and honour of his empire, he aimed at recovering his paternal inheritance the duchy of Sleswick; and was determined to involve his subjects in an expensive war with the king of Denmark, on account of claims considered by many as ill-founded and chimerical. Peter, as duke of Holstein, formed pretensions to that duchy, although it had been ceded by a treaty in 1732: and he had no sooner concluded the peace with the king of Prussia, than he ordered an army to march into Holstein, which he proposed to command in person.

With respect to the interior administration of affairs, the emperor turned his attention to reform his kingdom: and envy must allow, that, notwithstanding the precipitancy and imprudence

imprudence with which he acted, Russia dates several useful and important alterations from his short administration. Peter annulled the secret council or inquisition * of state; abolished many prerogatives which were oppressive and tyrannical: he formed a plan for correcting the abuses in the courts of judicature, and for introducing a regular and less corrupt system of jurisprudence. He freed the nobles from the obligation they were under of serving in the army, and permitted them to travel into foreign countries, which before depended upon the arbitrary will of the sovereign. CHAP.
I.

The emperor, during the first six weeks of his reign, proposed so many beneficial regulations, and made so many judicious reflections upon them, that many persons, who had formed a mean idea of his capacity, conceived themselves mistaken; and imagined, that, during the reign of Elizabeth, he had, from motives of policy, affected a deficiency of understanding. His subsequent conduct, however, fully proved, that he was still the same weak and imprudent prince; that he had just sense enough to adopt the schemes suggested by others, but did not possess abilities sufficient to carry them into execution; that he had all the rage of reformation, without the judgement necessary to a reformer.

The salutary regulations mentioned above were accompanied with others that were trifling, some that were detrimental, and several, which although in themselves useful and proper, were very imprudently proposed in the com-

* This state inquisition was invented by Alexey Michaelovitch: it consisted of a secret committee of confidential persons, appointed to judge criminals suspected of high treason. Persons of all ranks and sexes were liable to be arrested upon the slightest suspicions, and tortured in the most dreadful

manner. There was a catch word—Slovo I delo, “I say the word;” which if any one only pronounced against another was sufficient cause for the latter’s being immediately apprehended, and sent to the secret committee.

BOOK V. { mencement of a reign, on account of their total repugnance to the customs and genius of his people.

He irritated the clergy by secularizing the estates of the monasteries, and assigning in lieu thereof some pensions far inferior in value to what the ecclesiasticks possessed before this alteration; by forbidding the admission of novices into convents before the age of thirty; and by ordering many painted images of saints to be removed from the churches. He banished the archbishop of Novogorod, for refusing to consent to these ordinances; but finding this act of arbitrary power attended with general discontent, he was obliged to recall him. Being himself bred up in the Lutheran church, he had embraced the Greek religion, with a view of succeeding to the throne; and he was no sooner in secure possession of it, than he thought himself freed from the necessity of dissimulation, and imprudently displayed his publick contempt of many rites and ceremonies, regarded by his subjects with the most profound reverence. He built a Lutheran chapel in the fortress of Oranienbaum, was present at the dedication, and distributed with his own hand books of hymns to the German soldiers. This circumstance might have passed unnoticed, if he had not been absent at the consecration of a Russian church in the same place.

He offended the army by the preference which he publicly showed to his Holstein guards, by introducing the Prussian discipline, and appointing new uniforms to several regiments. He particularly gave umbrage to the guards, accustomed to reside in the capital, by ordering two regiments to march into Pomerania, where the army against Denmark was assembled.

He

He affronted the nobility by appointing his uncle prince George of Holstein generalissimo of the forces; and by the superior confidence which he placed in foreigners. He inflamed the general odium by the publick contempt he expressed for the Russian nation, for their religion and manners. He raised great discontents, as well by engaging in the war with Denmark, a war which seemed totally unconnected with the interests of the empire, as by his boundless admiration of the great Frederick, with whom Russia had been so lately and so long in a state of most violent hostility. During the life of Elizabeth, he expressed his concern to one of the foreign ministers, that the empress had invited him to Russia: "If," added he, "I had remained duke of Holstein, I should now have commanded a regiment in the Prussian service, and have the honour of serving personally so great a monarch, an honour which I esteem far superior to that of being great-duke." After his accession, he used publickly to call him *master*. Talking with one of his favourites upon this topick, he said, "You know I have been a faithful servant to my *master*; for you remember that I transmitted to him intelligence of all the secrets of the cabinet." And as the person, to whom this discourse was addressed, seemed surprized at the assertion, and hesitated making any reply, "What are you afraid of?" returned the emperor; "the old woman is not now alive; and she cannot send you into Siberia." He generally wore a Prussian uniform, expressed the utmost satisfaction at the formality of being appointed an officer in the king's service; and when he sent his minister to Berlin to negotiate a mutual alliance, he gave him secret instructions to be careful that

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no person should be promoted above him in the Prussian army. Upon receiving the patent which conferred upon him the rank of lieutenant-general in that service, he instantly dressed himself in his new uniform, ordered a general discharge of the cannon in the fortrefs of Oranienbaum, gave a magnificent entertainment in honour of his promotion, and drank his *master's* health until he became quite intoxicated.

During his short reign he maintained a constant correspondence with the king of Prussia, and always received from him the most salutary advice which the circumstances would admit. That able monarch earnestly dissuaded him from the war with Denmark; but finding him obstinately determined to engage in it, he advised him to be first crowned at Moscow with the usual solemnities; and, when he marched to Holstein, to carry in his train all the foreign ministers, and such of the Russian nobles who were suspected of disaffection. Frederick also cautioned him against alienating the lands of the monasteries, and interfering with the dress of the clergy; and particularly recommended to him a due attention to his consort. Indeed, the king, whose penetration is equal to his valour, foresaw the consequences which were likely to result from the emperor's imprudent conduct; and ordered his embassador at Petersburg to show every mark of respect to the empress.

Had the advice of the king of Prussia been adopted, Peter might have avoided his unhappy destiny; but it was the character of that misguided prince to pursue with unremitted obstinacy what he had once resolved, and to remain unconvinced by the most powerful arguments. Though his plans of reformation were in many respects highly salutary, yet the precipitancy with which he endeavoured to carry them
into

into execution, and his impolitick defiance of popular pre-
judices, destroyed the affection of his subjects, fomented the
intrigues of the opposite party, and terminated in his de-
thronement.

CHAP.
I.

In no light did the inconsistency of the emperor's character manifest itself more strongly than in his behaviour to his consort. During the reign of Elizabeth, Catharine had employed her hours of leisure in a course of assiduous study; and had particularly applied herself to those authors who were most eminent for political knowledge: born with superior abilities, she had improved them by a constant habit of reflection, and had paid an unremitting attention to the cultivation of her mind. Her mild and insinuating manners, her engaging address, the graces of her person, her unwearied assiduities, and a perpetual fund of interesting conversation, had conciliated the favour of the suspicious Elizabeth, who ever treated her with complacency and affection. Even her husband, though his general behaviour to her was contemptuous and unmannerly, occasionally testified great respect for her superior abilities, and usually asked her advice in every emergency. Whenever any quarrel arose between him and Elizabeth, Catharine was sure to mediate between them; and Peter owed more than once a favourable reception at court to her influence. After his accession, though he frequently gave publick marks of deep-rooted aversion, yet he would often behave to her with that deference, which the superiority of her understanding challenged. By an unaccountable act of imprudence, he would, in a full court, invest her with the exterior decorations of sovereignty; while, in the character of a colonel, he presented to her the officers of his regiment. At the Blessing of the waters, when the Russian monarch appears in all the pomp of majesty,

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jefty, while the ceremonial part was left to the empress, he mounted guard as colonel, and saluted her with his pike. Under all these circumstances, the dignity of her deportment was so striking, that it was impossible not to contrast her behaviour with the trifling levity of her husband's conduct; and to give the preference where it was so evidently due. Thus this infatuated prince, at the very time he was fully determined to divorce and imprison his wife, imprudently displayed to his subjects her capacity for empire; and, while he proclaimed her forfeiture of his own esteem, adopted every method to secure to her that of the whole nation. Meanwhile the breach between them was continually widened: he would occasionally behave to her with the most brutal contumely; and once in particular, at an entertainment he gave in honour of the king of Prussia, he publicly affronted her to such a degree, that she burst into tears, and retired from table. Thus his insults, no less than his deference, equally attracted odium to himself, and popularity to Catharine.

It is also a well-known fact, that he more than once avowed an intention of arresting both her and the great- duke, whom he proposed to exclude from the succession, and of marrying Elizabeth countess of Voronzof, his favourite mistress. This alarming measure was scarcely adopted before it was immediately conveyed to Catharine, through the imprudence of the countess. By the same, or other means, as well as by the indiscretion of Peter himself, the empress obtained early intelligence of every resolution formed against her person. She was thus enabled to seize the decisive moment of enterprize; and to secure her safety by preventing the designs of her husband.

Indeed

Indeed her danger became every day more and more imminent, and the moment of her being arrested seemed at hand. A brick house, consisting of eleven rooms, had been constructed by the emperor's order in the fortress of Schuffelburgh *, for a person of very considerable consequence; and had been raised with such expedition, as to be almost finished within the short space of six weeks. Peter had been himself at Schluffelburgh to examine it; and no great depth of penetration was requisite to perceive that it was constructed for the empress. In this important crisis a meeting of her party was held at Petersburg. This party was extremely small, and, excepting the princess D'Asskoff and her particular adherents, consisted only of a few among the principal nobility. The most conspicuous of these were prince Volkonski, count Panin governor of the great-duke, and count Rosomoufki Hetman of the Ukraine. In the first consultations for dethroning Peter III. it was proposed, according to the plan of chancellor Bestuchef, to declare the great-duke emperor, and Catharine regent during his minority; and this would have been the measure naturally followed in any country, wherein the order of succession was more fixed than in Russia. Nor was it but a few days before the revolution, that the inconvenience attending a minority, joined to the popularity and abilities of the empress, induced the insurgents to adopt the resolution of placing her upon the throne. At these meetings various plans of an insurrection were proposed; but it was at length unanimously agreed to delay their attempt until Peter's departure for Holstein, when Catharine might seize the capital during his absence, and ascend the throne.

CHAP.
I.

* See the description of this building in Vol. I. p. 546.

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Although only a few persons were engaged in this momentous enterprize, yet the designs of the party could not be concealed from the friends of the emperor, who earnestly intreated him to investigate the foundation of the report: but Peter, who had committed the care of the empresses person to those in whom he placed the highest confidence, could never be prevailed upon to give the slightest credit to the rumour; and indeed he was so convinced of its falsehood, that any suggestions on that head always offended him. One of his confidants presented him a memorial in writing, in which the names of several conspirators were mentioned. "What, always the old story!" said the emperor; "here, take back your paper; and do not trouble me any more with such idle tales." His uncle, prince George of Holstein, said he was tired with tendering remonstrances; and that the emperor was insensible to the danger of his situation. On the very morning of the revolution, about two o'clock, an officer, who had a great share in Peter's confidence, arrived at Oranienbaum, and demanded to speak with him upon an affair of the greatest importance. Being, after some difficulty, admitted, he acquainted the emperor with several circumstances, which seemed to indicate a conspiracy upon the point of breaking out. But that infatuated prince was so far from paying the least attention to the intelligence, that he ordered the officer under immediate arrest, for presuming to disturb him at so late an hour. And yet at this very hour his dethronement was determined; which event was accelerated by a circumstance perfectly unconnected with the intentions of the opposite party.

The arrest of one of the empresses adherents, a lieutenant in the guards whose name was Passéc, greatly alarmed her friends, as they concluded that the emperor had penetrated

penetrated their design; and although they soon discovered ^{CHAP. I.} that his arrest had been occasioned by some irregularity of which he had been guilty as an officer, yet the consternation it had spread amongst them hastened the execution of their enterprize. Every moment was big with danger; and a discovery seemed inevitable if the insurrection was delayed until the emperor's departure for Holstein.

The empress, however, who continued at Peterhof, shuddered at the advice to precipitate the hour of action; her resolution at this awful crisis, when immediate decision was necessary, seemed for a moment to fail, and she hesitated to assent; but her party at Petersburg, convinced that the least delay would prove fatal, dispatched, on the evening of the 27th of June, an empty carriage to Peterhof, the appointed signal for her approach to the capital. Catharine, whose greatness of mind soon recurred to support her in this dreadful state of agitation and suspense, instantly escaped from her apartment; and, at three o'clock in the morning, having traversed the garden alone to the place where the carriage * was waiting for her, was conveyed with all speed to Petersburg. It had been preconcerted, that count Panin should attend to the safety of the great-duke's person; that Gregory Orlof should remain in the capital to win over some of the guards; and that count Rosomoufki should prepare his regiment for the reception of the empress. In consequence of this determination, Catharine, upon her entrance into Petersburg, immediately repaired to the quarters of the Ismalloffski guards. The hour was so early that Rosomoufki, the lieutenant-colonel, was not yet arrived;

* This carriage was conducted by one of the empresses most confidential adherents, I believe by count Alexèy Orlof; but as I found it impracticable positively to ascertain the person, I was unwilling to advance any fact, of which I was not as perfectly convinced as the intricate nature of these affairs would admit.

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an alarming circumstance, sufficient to have disconcerted a person of less spirit; but the empress, having dispatched a messenger to Rosomouski, summoned before her the officers and soldiers. A few who had been apprized by Orlof were ready; while the greatest part, being roused unexpectedly from their slumber, made their appearance scarcely half dressed.

The empress instantly laid before them the bad conduct of the emperor; his avowed contempt of the Russians; his aversion to their customs; and his attachment to foreigners. She exposed the dangers which awaited her own person, her son, and the principal nobility; she expatiated upon the probable subversion of their religion and government; and exhorted all those to follow her, who were desirous of saving their country, and of rescuing her and the great-duke from certain destruction. Her speech, occasionally interrupted with sighs and tears, was short and pathetick; and, further enforced by the graces of her person, made an instantaneous impression: the greatest part of the soldiers answered her with loud acclamations; a few officers, indeed, at first seemed to hesitate; but the arrival of Rosomouski quieted their apprehensions, and the whole regiment offered to sacrifice their lives in her cause. Catharine now proceeded to the church of the Virgin Mary of Casan; being joined in her way by various bodies of guards, and by many of the principal nobility. Service was performed by the archbishop of Novogorod, and the empress took the accustomed oath to preserve inviolate the privileges and religion of the Russians; after which the nobles and people flocked in crowds to swear allegiance to the new sovereign. At the conclusion of this ceremony she repaired to the senate, the members of which body acknowledged her sole empress. A report, industriously circulated

circulated, that Peter was killed by a fall from his horse, CHAP.
I.
proved very favourable to the success of the revolution. {
The suite of the empress continually augmented. Two regiments of guards, who had scarcely quitted Petersburg in order to join the army in Pomerania, were immediately recalled; and as they were exasperated against the emperor for having forced them to leave the capital, they repaired without delay to the standard of the empress.

Even in those governments where the pretorian bands, stationed in the capital, depose sovereigns, or raise them to the throne, some plausible pretence must be urged to render a revolution popular, and to engage the general voice to ratify the deed of the soldiery. When Elizabeth seized the reins of empire, the attachment of the nation to the memory of her father induced the publick to applaud that transaction: and in this instance Peter III. had by some part of his conduct rendered himself so odious, and, by others, so contemptible to his subjects, that the first account of his dethronement, and of Catharine's accession, announced in the following manifesto, was received with universal joy.

“ Catharine II. by the grace of God empress and autocratix
“ of All the Russias, to all our faithful subjects, &c.

“ All the true sons of Russia have clearly seen the danger
“ to which the whole Russian empire has been exposed.
“ First, the foundation of our orthodox Greek religion has
“ been shaken, and its tradition exposed to total ruin, so that
“ it was to be feared that the faith, which has been established
“ in Russia from the earliest times, would be entirely changed,
“ and a foreign religion introduced. In the second place,
“ the glory which Russia had acquired at the expence of so
“ much blood, and which was carried to the greatest height
“ by her victorious arms, has been trampled under foot by

BOOK
V.

“ the peace lately concluded with its greatest enemy. And,
 “ lastly, the domestick regulations, which are the basis of
 “ the country’s welfare, have been totally overturned.

“ For these causes, overcome by the imminent dangers
 “ with which our faithful subjects were threatened,
 “ and seeing how sincere and express their desires were on
 “ this head ; we, putting our trust in the Almighty and his
 “ divine justice, have ascended the imperial throne of All
 “ the Russias ; and have received a solemn oath of fidelity
 “ from all our faithful subjects.

“ Petersburg, June 28, O. S. 1762.”

All the adherents of the emperor were arrested ; amongst the rest prince George of Holstein, who had come to Petersburg on the 26th, under pretence of making preparations for the emperor’s departure ; but, in reality, to watch the opposite party. It was he who had given orders to arrest Passer ; and, by thus alarming the insurgents, had been the innocent cause of hastening the revolution, which put a period to the reign of Peter III. Not the least opposition was made from any quarter to the proceedings of the empress ; and, notwithstanding the streets of Petersburg were filled with soldiers, who are generally tumultuous and ungovernable in such dreadful periods, yet the greatest order and discipline was preserved, and no injury was offered to any individuals *.

* Several English merchants had quitted their houses before they were apprized of the revolution ; but they found no difficulty in returning through the soldiers posted in different parts of the town. One gentleman in particular informed me, that he went about six in the morning to the Custom-house, and was surprised to find no one there. After staying some time, he returned home ; and, in his way over the bridge of the Neva, he met a friend, who asked him what was the matter, for every thing ap-

peared in confusion. He had scarcely finished these words, when about 300 horsemen, with drawn swords in their hands, galloped across the bridge. A priest traversing the bridge at the same time in a carriage, the two Englishmen stood by the side of it. Some of the guards, as they passed by the priest, waved their swords over their heads, crying out at the same time, “ All goes well—vivat Catharine II.” And this was the first intelligence these merchants received of the revolution.

At

At six in the evening the empress, habited like a man in the uniform of the guards, with a branch of oak in her hat, a drawn sword in her hand, and mounted upon a grey steed, marched towards Peterhof, accompanied by the princess D'Asskoff, the Hetman Rosomouski, the Orlofs, and her principal adherents, at the head of 10,000 troops. She had scarcely advanced three miles, when prince Galitzin, vice-chancellor, approached her with a letter from the emperor; but, being prevailed upon to join her party, he took the oath of allegiance. At Crasnoe Capac, a small village about eight miles from the capital, the prime-minister, count Voronzof, made his appearance: "I come, madam," said he, "from the emperor, my master, to know your majesty's intentions." Some of the by-standers, informing him that the empress had ascended the throne, and that he was now addressing himself to his sovereign, concluded by proffering the oath of allegiance; but, as he nobly refused to desert his master, his sword was taken from him, and he was sent a prisoner to Peterburgh, ineffectually lamenting the fate of his unhappy sovereign.

At Crasnoe Capac there was only one miserable hovel, into which the empress entered, and employed herself for some time in tearing and burning a large quantity of papers. She then flung herself in her clothes upon an ordinary bed, slept about an hour and an half, and was on horseback by break of day. She proceeded about four miles further, to the convent of St. Serge at Strelna, into which she retired while the troops encamped around. About eight o'clock general Ismahilof arrived at Strelna with a message from the emperor, whose situation was now become truly critical. But it is necessary to lay before our reader the train of circumstances,

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IV.

cumstances, which had concurred in reducing a sovereign of such unlimited authority to so abject a state.

While the revolution was carrying on at Peterburgh, Peter remained at Oranienbaum in thoughtless security. He had passed the evening which preceded the revolution in the fortress, in company with a few chosen friends, with whom he indulged, as usual, in the pleasures of the table; and, having pushed them to excess, he retired late to rest nearly intoxicated. In the morning he dressed himself in his Prussian uniform, and set out about eleven for Peterhof, in order to celebrate the feast of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, expecting to meet the empress at dinner, and intending *, as it is reported, to put her under an arrest. He was accompanied by Elizabeth Voronzof, her uncle count Voronzof, his favourite Godovitz, marshal Munich, and many of the nobility of both sexes, who formed his court. He had not proceeded far, before he was met by a nobleman of his party, who had found means to escape from Peterburgh. This person immediately stopped the carriage, and acquainted the emperor that he wished to speak with him in private. Peter, however, ordered his attendants to proceed, adding, in a joking manner, "Why are you in such a hurry? Turn back to Peterhof, and there you will have time enough to speak to me." The other repeating his solicitations, the emperor at length alighted from his carriage, and was informed of the revolution at Peterburgh. Yet even now his obstinacy and his infatuation were so great, that he for a long time suspected the truth of the intelligence;

* If Peter really, as it is said, intended to arrest the empress, his former conduct is in some measure accounted for. He thought that her party was of no consequence, and accordingly disbelieved, or pretended to disbelieve, all the reports of the conspiracy, thinking to crush it at once by securing her person. He put implicit confidence in the nobles, whom he placed about the empress; and these very persons were the first to betray him.

but,

but, when an enumeration of particular circumstances had ^{CHAP.}
at length awakened him to a sense of his danger, he testified ^{I.}
the strongest symptoms of amazement and horror, and was
reduced almost to a state of stupefaction. Recovering at
length from this paroxysm of despair, he dispatched an ad-
jutant to Oranienbaum, with orders for the garrison to follow
him immediately to Peterhof. Upon his arrival at that palace
he found that the empress was departed, and could not obtain
any information of her proceedings from any person of her
court. Marshal Munich advised him to put himself at the
head of his Holstein troops, and to march without delay to
the capital: "I will go before you," said that gallant veteran,
"and your majesty's person shall not be touched but through
"mine." Had this advice been followed, it would have been
attended with a glorious, and perhaps a successful event.
The Holstein troops, though scarcely amounting to a thou-
sand, were zealously attached to Peter, and Munich was worth
a regiment: the courage of the emperor, however, deserted
him in this emergency; he continued uncertain what mea-
sures he should adopt, fluctuated between hope and fear,
formed new resolutions one moment, and renounced them
the next.

His own agitation was still further increased by the beha-
viour of the principal persons who had accompanied him
from Oranienbaum, or whom he found at Peterhof. The
women vented shrieks, and hung about the emperor in ago-
nies of the deepest distress: every one clamorously offered
advice; but the uproar was so great, that the advice could
scarcely be heard, and if heard was not attended to, because
it was repeatedly changed. Several of the empresses party
were present, and artfully fomented the general confusion:
under the specious appearance of affection and zeal, they
alarmed

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V.

alarmed the fears of the emperor, and objected to every vigorous measure as inadmissible and dangerous. Under these circumstances the emperor, perplexed by such discordant or treacherous advice, was softened into cowardice by the tears of the women, and remained the whole day in a state nearly bordering on distraction.

Every moment brought him fresh cause of terror and dismay. He was successively informed that the empress had received the oath of allegiance from persons of all ranks; that she was mistress of the capital, and was advancing towards him at the head of 10,000 troops. Peter, disheartened by this intelligence, dispatched repeated messengers to his consort, with proposals of accommodation; and, as not one of them came back, he at length determined to take refuge in Cronstadt*; a measure, which, if he had earlier embraced, might probably have given a favourable turn to his affairs.

Soon after his first arrival at Peterhof, he had dispatched general Lievers and prince Baratsinski to Cronstadt, to reconnoitre the place: general Lievers was admitted without difficulty; and prince Baratsinski returned to Peterhof with the account that no news of the revolution had reached Cronstadt; that general Lievers was preparing for his immediate reception; that his majesty would find there an asylum, where the empress's troops could not penetrate; and from whence he might, in case of extreme necessity, escape by sea to his dominions in Holstein. In consequence of this representation, the emperor ordered the Holstein troops, who were upon their march to Peterhof, to return to Oranienbaum;

* A town upon a small island in the Gulf of Finland, where the Russian navy is stationed. See its description in the chapter on the Russian navy.

but, by an unaccountable fatality, he protracted his departure till midnight. Upon his arrival at the harbour, to his CHAP.
1. inexpressible surprize and astonishment, the imperial yacht at first was refused admittance by the centinels, who objected to the lateness of the hour; and, when it was represented to them that the emperor was on board, they still persisted in their refusal, and threatened to fire from the batteries if the vessel did not instantly retire.

This reception, so different from what he had expected, was occasioned by the following remarkable circumstances. General Liewers, upon his arrival at Cronstadt, took the command of the fortress; but, perceiving that the garrison had no knowledge of the revolution, was unwilling to give any alarm, by spreading the report; and, as he shortly expected the emperor, thought it more adviseable to wait for his appearance before he made any attempts to secure the fidelity of the garrison, or issued any orders hostile to the party of the empress. During this interval, admiral Talicin came to Cronstadt: he had been dispatched from Peterburgh by the empress, who had forgotten, in the first hurry of the revolution, to secure that important fortress; and was now sent, if it should not prove too late *, for that purpose. He was admitted into the place without opposition: soon perceiving the situation of affairs, he instantly commanded the arrest of general Liewers, which was as instantly obeyed;

* Considering the great importance of Cronstadt, the neglect of securing it seems hardly credible; but I was informed from very good authority, that so late as ten in the morning no step had been taken at Peterburgh towards getting possession of that fortress. About that time a private person mentioned it by chance to one of the principal insurgents, who, without delay, acquainted the empress. The latter, conscious

of its great importance, immediately dispatched admiral Talicin. It must have been past eleven before he could have set off from Peterburgh: and, as he went by water, the distance being twenty miles, it must have been past three before he arrived at Cronstadt. The distance from Peterhof to the same place being only six miles, the emperor might have arrived there long before Talicin.

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the marines and sailors being more inclined to execute the orders of an admiral than those of a general. Having secured the general's person, he announced to the garrison the revolution at Peterburgh: he acquainted them that the emperor was deposed; that the army and senate had declared for Catharine; and that all opposition must be fruitless and dangerous. These arguments, joined to a large quantity of spirituous liquors, produced the desired effect; and Catharine was proclaimed sole empress. Thus a place, of so much importance as to have delayed, if not prevented, the final success of the insurrection, was seized by admiral Talicin, without the least opposition; and Peter was denied admittance.

Upon this disappointment, his only remaining resource was instantly to crowd sail for the Gulf of Bothnia, and to seek an asylum in Sweden, from whence he might easily penetrate to his army in Pomerania, or to his dominions in Holstein. But it was the fate of that monarch to act no decisive part in this important crisis: flattering himself with the hopes of still bringing about a reconciliation with the empress, and prevailed upon by the cries and entreaties of the women who were on board, he returned to Oranienbaum, where he arrived about four in the morning. When Peter quitted that palace on the preceding morning he was dressed in his Prussian regimentals. Upon his return he was in his Russian uniform: he now saw his error in despising the prejudices of his subjects, but it was too late. Little circumstances of this kind are not unworthy of the historian's notice, as great events frequently turn upon them, and they often discover the true character of the principal personages concerned in the scene.

Upon

Upon his return to Oranienbaum, he immediately retired CHAP.
I. alone and in great agitation to his house in the fortress, leaving marshal Munich and the rest of the court in the palace. About ten he again made his appearance in a more calm and composed state of mind. The Holstein guards no sooner beheld their royal master, than they all* crowded round him; some were struggling to kiss his hand, others hung about his person, many knelt down, some even prostrated themselves before him; all shedding tears of affection, and in terms of the strongest attachment conjured him to lead them against the empress; offering to stand by him to the last extremity, and to sacrifice their lives in his defence. Peter was so much animated by these affecting assurances of zeal and fidelity, that he caught their spirit for a moment, and cried out, "To arms!" but the tears of the women, his own irresolution, and the reflection that resistance would be ineffectual, soon damped this momentary fit of courage, and he again reconciled himself to submission.

Early in the morning he had dispatched major-general Ismahilof, in whom he reposed implicit confidence, to the empress, with a letter, offering to resign his crown, upon condition that he should be permitted to retire into Holstein, with Elizabeth Voronzof, and his favourite Godovitz. Ismahilof found the empress in the convent of Strelna, and was immediately admitted to her presence. The great policy on the side of Catharine now consisted in getting possession of the emperor's person without effusion of blood; it was her object, therefore, to amuse him, without driving him to desperate measures; for she well knew it was yet in his

* I had these circumstances from a person who was present; he had tears in his eyes while he described the animated behaviour of the Holstein troops. He said he never saw so affecting a scene.

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power to head his Holstein troops, and to defend his life to the last extremity ; or he might still be able to make his escape, and involve the empire in all the horrors of a long civil war. The judicious manner in which she conducted this delicate affair, shews her no less able in the arts of negotiation, than in the spirit of enterprize.

She calmly represented to Ismahilof the madness of any attempt to oppose her, now in full possession of sovereign authority ; she pointed to her troops, who were posted in large bodies upon the adjacent grounds ; adding, that Peter's resistance would only draw on himself and his party the vengeance of an enraged army ; she proposed, therefore, that the emperor should himself repair to Peterhof, where the terms of his abdication should be adjusted. Ismahilof, now finding the tide of success turned on the side of the empress, and perceiving the clergy, the army, and the principal nobles, engaged in her cause, was convinced that nothing was left to Peter but submission. Seduced by the insinuating eloquence and engaging address of the empress, he undertook to persuade his unhappy master, by immediate submission, to save an effusion of blood, which could be productive of no effectual advantage to his cause.

Ismahilof came to Oranienbaum between ten and eleven, and found the emperor in the palace with Munich, Elizabeth Voronzof, Godovitz, and others, anxiously expecting his arrival. Having retired into another apartment, the result of their conference was, that in less than an hour the emperor, with Elizabeth Voronzof, Godovitz, and Ismahilof, entered the carriage, in which the latter had returned to Oranienbaum ; and, unaccompanied by guards or attendants, drove to Peterhof, where he arrived about half past twelve, and
was

was immediately separated from his companions. The em-
 press declined a personal conference; but sent count Panin,
 who was admitted alone. What passed during this awful
 interview between that nobleman and his deposed sovereign,
 is not, nor probably ever will be, disclosed to the publick;
 but nothing can convey a stronger picture of the emperor's
 weakness and pusillanimity, than the following abdication
 in form, which was the result of their conversation*.

CHAP.
I.

“ During the short period which I have reigned over the
 “ Russian empire, I have found, from experience, that my
 “ abilities are insufficient to support so great a burden; and
 “ that I am not capable of directing the Russian empire in
 “ any way, and much less with a despotick power. I also
 “ acknowledge that I have been the cause of all the interior
 “ troubles, which, had they continued much longer, would
 “ have overturned the empire, and have covered me with
 “ eternal disgrace. Having seriously weighed these circum-
 “ stances, I declare, without constraint, and in the most so-
 “ lemn manner, to the Russian empire, and to the whole
 “ world, that I for ever renounce the government of the
 “ said empire, never desiring hereafter to reign therein,
 “ either as an absolute sovereign, or under any other form
 “ of government. I declare also, that I will never endeavour
 “ to reassume the government. As a pledge of this, I swear
 “ sincerely before God, and all the world, to this present re-
 “ nunciation, written and signed with my own hand. PETER.”

June 29, O. S. 1762.

Having signed this abdication, he was conveyed in the
 evening a prisoner to Robscha, a small imperial palace twenty

* I have sufficient reason to believe that this abdication was made at Peterhof: if, however, as some persons with less probability have asserted, he signed it at Oranienbaum before he was in the hands of his enemies, his pusillanimity admits of no palliation.

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V.

miles from Peterhof, and the empress returned about the same time to Petersburgh. About seven she made her triumphant entry on horseback, amidst continued huzzas; the streets were filled with a prodigious concourse of people, who were drawn up in lines, and kissed her hands, which she held out to them as she passed along. A great number of priests were assembled upon this occasion about the avenues to the palace: as she rode through their ranks, she stooped down to salute the cheeks of the principal clergy, while they were kissing her hand, a mode of salutation in Russia, expressive of the highest deference.

The first hurry of the revolution was no sooner past, and the spirit of revolt had scarce time to subside, before many repented of having deserted their sovereign. The populace, always prone to change, began to pity their dethroned monarch, and lost sight of his defects in the contemplation of his calamity; they regarded him no longer in the light of a misguided ruler, but only as an unfortunate prince, driven from the height of power to the most abject state, and subject to the horrors of perpetual imprisonment. Peter, notwithstanding his violence and incapacity, possessed several qualifications of a popular nature, and was greatly beloved by those who had access to his person. During the empress's march to Peterhof, several private soldiers manifested strong symptoms of dissatisfaction; some openly murmured at being led against their sovereign; and it has since been known, that had Peter, upon the first news of the revolution, made his appearance in person, many of the troops would have deserted to his standard. This spirit of discontent was observed, and secretly fomented by the partizans of the emperor; the tide of popularity was even turning

ing in his favour, and a new rising was hourly expected: CHAP.
 at this crisis Peter's decease restored peace to the distracted I.
 empire, and delivered Russia from the impending horrors of
 a civil war. This event happened at Robscha on the 6th
 of July, O. S. on the seventh day of his confinement, and
 in the 34th year of his age. His body was brought to the
 convent of St. Alexander Nevski at Petersburg, and there
 laid in state, where persons of all ranks were admitted, ac-
 cording to the custom of Russia, to kiss the hand of the de-
 ceased. His remains were then buried in the church of the
 convent, and the place of the sepulchre was distinguished
 with neither tomb nor inscription.

The death of Peter was not followed by any of those tra-
 gical scenes which had hitherto uniformly disgraced the re-
 volutions in Russia: not one of the nobles was sent into Si-
 beria; there were no publick or private executions; even
 the personal enemies of the empress were forgiven. Marshal
 Munich had given the emperor the best advice, and had offered
 to support him at the hazard of his own person. The em-
 press is said to have mildly inquired the motives which had
 incited in him such an active spirit of opposition to her inte-
 rests. "I was at that period," replied Munich with a
 spirit which twenty years imprisonment could not subdue,
 "engaged by the strongest ties of duty and gratitude to ex-
 "ert myself in behalf of my late master: your majesty is
 "now my sovereign, and will experience the same fidelity."
 The empress, struck with the magnanimity of his answer,
 with equal greatness of mind reposed in him the most un-
 bounded confidence, which was justified by his subsequent
 conduct. As soon as the danger of a new insurrection was
 dispelled, Count Voronzof was released from prison, and af-
 terwards employed. Elizabeth Voronzof experienced from
 the

BOOK
V. the empress no expression of either jealousy or resentment ;
her person was untouched, and she even retained undiminished all the fruits of Peter's bounty. Catharine, with a magnanimity peculiar to her character, forgave the indignities which she had received at her suggestion, and even her presumption in aspiring to a participation of the crown : she was permitted to espouse a private person, and still remains at Petersburg a living monument of the empresses unparalleled lenity. Godovitz, the emperor's favourite, and who was particularly obnoxious to the empress, was allowed to retire to his native country ; and the Holstein guards, who had offered, nay, even importuned the emperor to conduct them against the empress, were not treated with the least degree of severity ; they who chose to enlist were incorporated in the different regiments ; and the others withdrew themselves unmolested from Russia. Prince George of Holstein, uncle to Peter, and who was not unacquainted with the design of arresting the empress, was detained a prisoner in his own palace during the progress of the revolution ; but that event had no sooner taken place, than he was promoted to the rank of field-marshal, and appointed administrator of Holstein during the minority of the great-duke.

The empress was in the 34th year of her age when she ascended the throne ; and the success of this revolution was no less owing to her own personal spirit and abilities, than to the zeal of her party and the popularity of her cause.



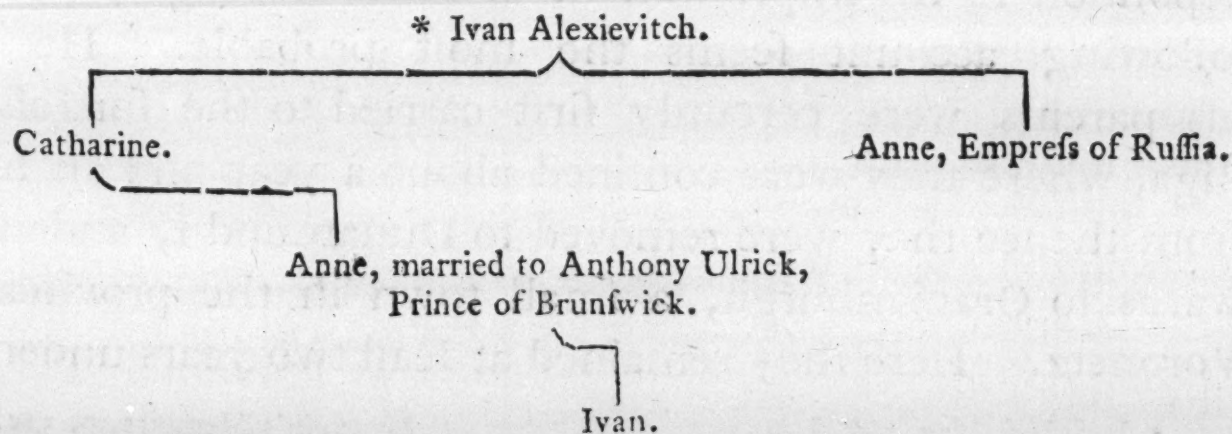
C H A P.

II.

Byz. sculp.

Family and birth of Ivan.—Appointed great-duke of Russia.—Declared emperor upon the death of Anne.—Deposed by Elizabeth.—Imprisoned at Riga, Dunamund, Oranienburgh, and lastly at Schluffelburgh.—Description of his apartment.—Method of life.—Intellects.—Ferocity, &c.—Visited by Peter III.—Account of that interview.—Removed to Kexholm.—Brought back to Schluffelburgh.—Attempt of Mirovitch in his favour.—Death of Ivan.—Trial and execution of Mirovitch.—Punishment of his accomplices.—Suspicion of a collusion between the court and Mirovitch.—Proofs of those suspicions.—Refuted.—Account of Ivan's parents and family.—Biographical anecdotes of count Munich.

IVAN, the unfortunate subject of the present narrative, CHAP.
II.
was lineally descended, on the female side, from the tzar
Ivan Alexievitch, elder brother of Peter the Great*; and was



See Geneal. Table of the House of Romanof, in Vol. I. p. 310.

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V. son of Anne of Mecklenburgh, and of Anthony Ulrick
prince of Brunswick; he was born on the 4th of August, 1740, created great-duke by his aunt the empress Anne; and, at her demise, on the 28th of October, in the same year, succeeded to the throne, from which he was deposed by Elizabeth on the 6th of December, 1741.

The soldiers, who were sent to arrest the young emperor, were ordered to steal softly into his apartments; and, if he was asleep, not to disturb him. Finding him slumbering by the side of his nurse, they stood round the cradle in respectful silence, at least an hour before the prince opened his eyes: then all the soldiers, at once endeavouring to seize him, and disputing who should carry him, the child was terrified, and cried; they immediately desisted, and permitted the nurse to approach, who covered him with a cloak, and was conveyed with him in a sledge to the palace of Elizabeth. That princess took the child, kissed it, and, while it was yet in her arms, a body of soldiers passing by the palace shouted, "Long live Elizabeth!" The infant, pleased with the acclamations, stretched out his little hand, and, smiling, tried to imitate the shouts of the soldiers; upon which Elizabeth exclaimed, "Innocent creature, thou perceivest not that thou art endeavouring to speak against thyself*."

It is difficult to trace Ivan distinctly from the time of his deposition to his imprisonment at Schlusselfburgh; but the following account seems the most probable. He and his parents were certainly first carried to the fortress of Riga, where they were confined about a year and an half: from thence they were removed to Dunamund†, and afterwards to Oranienburgh, a small town in the province of Voronetz. Here they remained at least two years under the

* Bus. Hist. Mag. vol. I. p. 374.

† Manstein's Memoirs, p. 315.

care of baron Korf, who behaved to his prisoners with great humanity and indulgence. I could not learn exactly how long they continued at Oranienburgh, nor whether Ivan was transferred with his parents to Kolmogori; at which place his mother Anne certainly died in childbed in 1746. Busching says, that when his parents were sent to Kolmogori, Ivan, who was then in the eighth year of his age, was left at Oranienburgh; and that some time afterwards a certain monk contrived to release him from prison, and to convey him as far as Smolensko, where they were surprized and taken *. Soon after this event, he was probably carried to the convent of Valдай, situated upon an island in the lake of the same name, which lies at a little distance from the high road between Petersburg and Moscow. The time of his confinement in this convent, and his situation until his removal to Schluffelburgh, are circumstances which I was not able to ascertain. But it cannot appear surprizing, if there should be some obscurity in the history of a state-prisoner secretly confined from his earliest infancy.

During the last eight years of his life, Ivan was undoubtedly imprisoned in the fortress of Schluffelburgh; whither he was first brought, in 1756, in the sixteenth year of his age. The same year he was secretly conveyed, by count Peter Sihuvalof, grand-master of the artillery, to the house of his brother count Ivan Sihuvalof at Petersburg; where

* Bus. Hist. Mag. VI. p. 529. There is an inaccuracy in Busching's account, probably only a false print, viz. that he was in the eighth year of his age when his parents were sent to Kolmogori; for in March, 1746, the time of Anne's death, he was only six years and seven months old: and some time must be allowed for conveying his parents from Oranienburgh to Kolmogori.

Busching was informed, by baron Korf, that they were all confined together at Oranienburgh: and I was told by an English gentleman, who had been at Kolmogori, that Ivan had been there imprisoned for a short time; but as I could not learn from what authority he had derived his information, I cannot venture to adopt it.

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V.

Elizabeth saw and spoke to him without making herself known : it is said that she burst into tears at this interview. On the ensuing day the prince was reconducted to Schlusfelburgh.

When I visited Schlusfelburgh, I was admitted into the fortress, but was not suffered to enter the room in which he had been confined ; yet as I examined one that was similar, and have conversed with several persons who have seen it, I am able to give the following description of it. It is situated towards the farthest extremity of the corridore, described on a former occasion*. It is about 25 feet square, and vaulted : the walls are of bare stone, and the floor is of brick. The window was not closed, like those of the adjacent cells, but glazed : and the glass was covered with a kind of plaister, which, while it admitted the light, could not be seen through. There was no other furniture than a truckle-bed, a table, and some chairs. In this dismal apartment he was immured during the space of eight years, excepting when he was occasionally conducted to the interior fortress, which communicated at top with the air ; but in the enjoyment of which the apprehensions of his escape rendered it impolitic to gratify him as often as humanity could have wished.

With respect to his intellects, as he had been imprisoned from the second year of his age, his ideas of course were very few, and his knowledge exceedingly limited : and, though not absolutely an idiot, he discovered occasional symptoms of insanity. He could neither read nor write ; he spoke the Russian language, and knew a few German words, which he must have learned when almost a child from his parents : he was rather inarticulate in his speech, and, when agitated, occasionally stammered. He was not

* Vol. I p. 545.

ignorant

ignorant from whom he was descended, and that he had CHAP.
II. once been emperor. He was strongly prepossessed with the hopes of regaining his liberty, and of reascending the throne; he used frequently to allude to his future behaviour when that event should take place; and whenever he was roused by passion, would threaten to punish those who provoked him.

He was by nature exceedingly cholerick and ferocious; and would rage almost to madness whenever he was intoxicated: for some time he was improperly indulged in every article for his table; he was served in plate, had a great variety of dishes, and all kinds of wine. But afterwards, in order to prevent his frequent excesses, these luxuries were judiciously diminished, though his maintenance was still amply provided for by the allowance of £20. per month.

He had a great number of clothes, which afforded him a constant source of amusement; he would often change his dress twenty times in the day, and walk about his room admiring himself with puerile satisfaction. In regard to his religious opinions, he had some faint knowledge of the Greek persuasion; and used frequently to pray in the most fervent manner. Once a year he was accustomed to confess, and receive the sacrament according to the ceremony of that church; and often boasted of obtaining revelations from the angel Gabriel.

He certainly knew that the empress Elizabeth was seated upon that throne from which he had been deposed: but it does not appear that he was ever made acquainted with her death, and the subsequent changes. Peter III. soon after his accession, came himself to Schluffelburgh, accompanied by counts Nariskin and Volkof, and baron Korf. Being immediately received within the fortress, they demanded to see
Ivan;

BOOK V. Ivan; but the governor refused to admit them into the prince's apartment, on account of the strictness of his orders, until Nariskin told him, that the emperor himself was present. Peter for a short time remained concealed, while his nobles and attendants conversed with Ivan; but he soon joined the company, drank a dish of coffee, and entered into discourse with the prince.

I endeavoured to collect some intelligence of what passed at this conference; but the information I received, even from persons of good authority, was extremely various and contradictory. Instead, therefore, of retailing uncertain and discordant anecdotes, I shall submit to the reader the following translation from Busching's account of this interview, which must be deemed authentick, because he received it from general Korf, who was present during the whole time.

“ In March, 1762, Peter III. desirous of seeing Ivan, set off early in the morning for Schlusselfburgh, accompanied by baron Korf, count Alexander Nariskin, and count Volkof. He travelled with post-horses, and kept his intention so secret, that it was noon before his uncle prince George of Holstein was made acquainted with his departure. Peter assumed the character of an officer; and, having showed the governor of Schlusselfburgh an order for admission, previously signed by himself, went, with his attendants, to the apartment of prince Ivan, which he found a wretched place, and provided with the meanest furniture. His clothes were clean and in good condition, but extremely coarse; and he appeared remarkably neat in his person, as well as in his linen. He had the appearance of an idiot, and spoke in a confused manner. One moment he affirmed that he was the emperor Ivan; and the next, that the soul of that emperor, who was no longer
“ alive,

“ alive, had migrated into his body. Upon being asked what
 “ induced him to imagine that he was an emperor, he re-
 “ plied, ‘ that he had learnt it from his parents and the
 “ foldiers who guarded him.’ Being questioned whether he
 “ recollected his parents, he answered in the affirmative ;
 “ and then bitterly lamented, that the empress Elizabeth had
 “ always kept them, as well as himself, in a wretched state ;
 “ adding, he well remembered that he and they were for-
 “ merly under the care of an officer, who was the only per-
 “ son that had ever showed them any tenderness or huma-
 “ nity : general Korf instantly demanding, whether he still
 “ should know this officer, ‘ I could not recollect him at
 “ present,’ answered Ivan, ‘ as it is so long ago since I saw
 “ him, and I was then a child ; but his name I have not for-
 “ gotten, it is Korf.’ The general was greatly affected. Ivan
 “ had heard of the great-duke* and his wife : and, as he
 “ repeatedly said that he hoped again to be emperor, he was
 “ asked in what manner he would then behave to them, ‘ I
 “ would have them both executed,’ returned the prince.
 “ Peter was much shocked : he determined, however†, to
 “ order the constructing of a small house in the fortress for
 “ the unhappy prisoner, and proposed to treat him in a
 “ more humane manner. Prince George of Holstein even
 “ advised Peter to restore the prince to his liberty, to send
 “ him into Germany, together with his father, Anthony
 “ Ulrick, and the rest of his family, and to allow them

* Namely, Peter and Catharine.

† We may collect from these expressions, that Busching supposed the house within the small fortress to have been constructed for Ivan, and not for the empress ; but he was probably unacquainted with the circum-

stance, that Ivan was removed to Rexholm the beginning of June ; this removal was perhaps occasioned by the design which the emperor had formed of confining the empress in the fortress of Schlusselburgh.

BOOK "a handsome pension: but the emperor did not seem to
V. "approve the advice *."

To this curious account I am enabled to add the following authentick anecdote. Peter had not been long with Ivan before he became dispirited and suddenly indisposed; he accordingly quitted the room, and went out into the air. "I feel myself now," said he to one of his suite, "very much refreshed; I was, indeed, exceedingly shocked, and very near fainting." He then returned into the apartment, and renewed his conversation with Ivan, with whom he staid near an hour.

Peter, it is said, had even proposed to release Ivan from his imprisonment: and as he had conceived an idea that, perhaps, policy had induced the prince to counterfeit idiotism, for the purpose of discovering the truth, he ordered a confidential person to remain for some days in Ivan's apartment. This person soon perceived that his behaviour was not the effect of simulation, but that he at times talked wildly, as if he was really disordered in his understanding: he would frequently with raptures assert, that the angel Gabriel appeared to him in visions, and brought revelations from heaven. Being asked by this person why he imagined that he had once been emperor, he replied, "I was told so by one of my guards, who looking stedfastly at me, burst suddenly into tears; and upon my demanding the reason, informed me, that he, as well as the whole nation, had formerly taken the oath of allegiance to me as emperor; and he then gave me the account of my dethronement, and of the accession of Elizabeth."

Peter, now fully convinced that Ivan's understanding was disordered, soon relinquished all thoughts of releasing him;

* See Geschichte des Russischen Kayfers Johann des Dritten. Bus. H. M. VI. p. 530. & seq.

and soon afterwards ordered him to be sent by water to Kex-
holm, a fortress situated in a small island, where the Voxen
flows into the lake of Ladoga. He was conveyed across that
lake in a small open boat; and, as the wind was boisterous,
and the water extremely agitated, he at first trembled with
fear; but, in a short time, became composed, although there
arose a violent storm, which the watermen could scarcely
weather. The waves, indeed, ran so high, that the boat
was overset near the shore; and the prince, with the greatest
difficulty, was brought to land. In the month of August
Ivan was again removed from the fortress of Kexholm to
that of Schluffelburgh, by order of the empress Catharine,
who had in this interval succeeded to the throne. He was
conducted in a carriage, which breaking down near the vil-
lage of Schluffelburgh, he was led through the place covered
with a cloak, and thus settled again in his former habitation.

This unhappy state-prisoner was detained in the same
fortress until the time of his decease, which happened in the
morning of the 5th * of July, 1764. The plain account
of this melancholy event is as follows. Two officers, a captain
Vlasief and lieutenant Tchekin, were appointed to guard
Ivan, and for that purpose were stationed in his apartment.
In the fortress was a company, consisting of near an hundred
soldiers; of whom about eight or ten stood sentinel in the
corridore close to the door of his room, and within the pas-
sage leading to it; the rest were posted in the guard-house,
at the gate, and in different parts of the fortress, under the
command of the governor. At that time the regiment of
Smolensko was quartered in the village of Schluffelburgh;
and every week an hundred men relieved the guard in the

* O. S. 16th N. S.

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fortrefs. Vaffili Mirovitch, an under-lieutenant in this regiment, was the person who, by attempting to release Ivan, was the cause of his death. This person was grandson of the rebel of the same name, who followed Mazeppa Hetman of the Cossacs, when the latter revolted from Peter the Great, and joined Charles XII. in his ill-concerted expedition into the Ukraine. Mirovitch had applied to the empress to restore the estates of his grand-father, which had been confiscated after the battle of Pultava; but having met with a positive refusal, as well in this as in other applications, he formed the desperate resolution of delivering Ivan, in order to place that prince upon the throne which he had once filled, and to raise himself to a rank and station equal to that of the first subject in the empire. But, as he was a person without fortune or connections, the means he was enabled to adopt were far from being adequate to the boldness of the enterprize.

Having formed this daring resolution, he, a few months before the purposed time of execution, communicated it at Casan to a lieutenant in the regiment of Veliki-Laki, whose name was Apollon Ushakof. These two associates repaired to the church of the Virgin Mary, where they took an oath of secrecy and fidelity upon the altar, and, mixing fanaticism with treason, invoked the Almighty to assist and sanctify their designs. They also joined in drawing up a manifesto, which they proposed to distribute as soon as Ivan should be set at liberty. The execution of this enterprize was delayed until the summer, when it was expected that the empress would be absent from the capital upon an expedition into Livonia. Soon afterwards Mirovitch joined his regiment, which was quartered at Schlusfelburgh; but his confederate

Ushakof

Ushakof was accidentally drowned, on the 29th of March, in his way to Smolensko. CHAP.
II.

Mirovitch, deprived of his associate, does not appear to have found any other person in whom he could repose equal confidence. He founded, however, a servant of the court, whose name was Tikon Casatkin, and artfully endeavoured to infuse, by degrees, into his mind rebellious principles, in order to make him, at a proper season, the instrument of his purposes. But he was somewhat more explicit with Semen Tchevaridsef, lieutenant in the corps of artillery; to whom he communicated, first, by dark and obscure hints, and then in somewhat plainer terms, a design of releasing Ivan; and of conducting him to that corps stationed at Petersburg: but he mentioned it merely as a project, without fixing any precise time for attempting it, or naming himself as the person who would dare to undertake it.

With so little management, and no precaution in case of failure, did Mirovitch resolve to carry his design into execution; but he was upon duty during a whole week in the fortress without finding any favourable opportunity. He had observed, however, and set a private mark on the door of Ivan's apartment, and had shewn it to his friend Semen Tchevaridsef, who came from Petersburg to visit him. At the close of the week his turn of course expired; but he solicited and obtained, under some specious pretence, the permission of being continued upon guard on the evening of the 4th of July *. Probably he considered the soldiers, who were then upon duty, as more easy to be corrupted than those who had just been relieved. It does not, however, appear that he had previously gained more than one common soldier, whose name was Jacob Piskof: and it was not till about ten

* 15th, O. S.

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V. at night that he first hinted his intention to three corporals and two soldiers, who, though they all at first positively refused to join him, yet, by the assistance of Piskof, and by his own artful persuasions, were at length prevailed upon to favour his designs. But although they consented to assist him, yet they could not be induced to act with that determined resolution which the circumstances required. On the contrary, they continued wavering, and were so staggered with the danger, that they proposed to defer the enterprize until a more convenient opportunity should occur: Mirovitch at first artfully appeared to yield to their fears; but between one and two in the morning he suddenly renewed his solicitations, when, incapable of resisting his plausible manner, the distribution he made among them of some money, the promise of more, the expectation of great promotion, and his authority as commanding officer, they were precipitately hurried on to engage heartily in the project, and to second his attempt.

Having thus secured the assistance of six persons, he lost not a moment in summoning about forty of the soldiers stationed in that part of the fortress, some of whom were asleep and others upon guard, and under pretence of an order from the empress, he commanded them to load their pieces with ball, and to follow him: then, before they could be at all aware of his intention, he led them towards the apartment of Ivan. In his way he was met by Berednikof the governor. This officer had already retired to rest, but being alarmed by one of the guards, had hastily dressed himself; and accosting Mirovitch commanded him to declare the cause of the disturbance. Mirovitch returned no answer; but, striking him upon the forehead with the but-end of his musket, delivered him

Him a prisoner to some of his party ; and with the remainder
 advanced to a wooden gate which guarded the passage lead-
 ing to the prince's apartment. He demanded admittance ;
 but meeting with a positive refusal from the centinels, he
 ordered his followers to discharge their muskets, and to force
 their way : they obeyed, and the centinels returned the fire.
 The soldiers, deceived by Mirovitch, had expected no opposi-
 tion : surprized, therefore, and alarmed at the resistance of the
 centinels, they retired with precipitation, notwithstanding
 all the efforts of their leader, and insisted upon seeing the
 order of the empress. Mirovitch immediately read to them
 a paper *, which he had forged ; at the bottom of which he
 had counterfeited the imperial signature : and as it was no
 difficult matter to deceive such ignorant men, few of whom
 could read, he prevailed upon them by entreaties, promises,
 and threats, instantly to make a second attempt. During
 this short interval, a cannon had been drawn from one of
 the bastions, which Mirovitch himself pointed against the
 passage leading to the prince's apartment, when the door
 was suddenly opened, and the whole party suffered to enter
 without opposition.

Upon the first attempt of Mirovitch, Vlasief and Tchekin
 had dispersed the assailants by ordering the centinels to fire ;

* It is difficult, at this distance of time, to find out the contents of this paper : but it appeared, from the examination of Mirovitch and his associates, to have been obviously drawn up. As he asserted that what he read to them issued from the empress, he could not lay open his design of releasing Ivan ; and probably the paper contained only an order to take the prince from under the custody of Vlasief and Tchekin, who might be represented as betraying their

trust : this supposition is confirmed by the violent abuse which the soldiers, upon their return to make the second attack, threw out against these two officers. Nikita Lebedef, the next in command to Mirovitch, was the only person who perceived that the order was counterfeited ; and, though he did not assist Mirovitch, he was afterwards punished for not having discovered the imposition to the misguided soldiers.

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but when they returned, and Mirovitch, with his cannon pointed, seemed resolutely determined to force his way, the officers, finding no possibility of further resistance, attacked with their drawn swords the unfortunate object of this contest, who had been awakened by the tumult, and had started out of bed.

The prince, though without any weapon, and almost naked, yet, animated with despair, made a vigorous defence: he parried their repeated thrusts; and, though pierced through the hand, broke one of their swords, until overpowered and stabbed in several places, he was dispatched by a wound in the back. The officers immediately threw open the door, and, pointing to the body of Ivan, exclaimed, "Here is your emperor!"

Mirovitch, upon beholding the dead body, started back in an agony of surprize; soon, however, recollecting himself, he made no other attempt, but returned with perfect composure to the governor Berednikof, and delivering up his sword, calmly said, "I am now your prisoner."

On the following day, the body of Ivan was exposed in a shirt and a pair of drawers before the guard-house in the fortress; whither an immense concourse of people flocked from all quarters. I was informed by a gentleman, who was present upon the occasion, that he found it impossible to describe the animated grief which appeared in the countenances, attitudes, and expressions of the people at the sight of a prince, who had once been seated on the throne, whose misfortune only, and no crime, had occasioned his imprisonment; and whose wretched existence had been prematurely closed by the hand of violence.

The concourse at last was so great as to excite apprehensions of a tumult: the body was accordingly wrapped up in

in a sheep skin, put into a coffin, and buried in an antient chapel of the fortrefs, which is now demolished.

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II.

According to the information I received from those who had seen the body of Ivan, he was six feet in height, handsome, and athletick; he had small fiery eyes, red hair and beard, and a complexion uncommonly fair, which had been rendered pallid by confinement.

The account of this wild enterprize of Mirovitch, and of Ivan's death, was forwarded to count Panin, together with several copies of the manifesto which had been originally concerted with Ushakof, and which were found upon Mirovitch when he surrendered. This manifesto contained the most virulent abuse and dreadful imprecations against the empress, who was represented as an usurper of the throne of which Ivan was the lawful sovereign; and the copies were to have been distributed as soon as the prince should be rescued and brought to the capital. Count Panin dispatched immediate intelligence to the empress in Livonia, who commanded lieutenant-general Weymar to repair without delay to Schlusfelburgh, in order to examine Mirovitch and his associates; and to collect all possible information that might contribute to a full discovery of their designs. This information, together with the confession of Mirovitch and his accomplices, was laid before a committee composed of five principal ecclesiasticks, the senate, and of other nobles high in rank and office. Mirovitch and his abettors, being removed to Peterburgh, were examined at different times before this committee, both separately and together; and the result of all these inquiries tended to show, that Mirovitch had not been instigated to this attempt; but that he had originally contrived the plot, and had acted throughout the whole transaction solely from himself.

During

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During the course of the several meetings that were held on this occasion, Mirovitch astonished the committee by his insolent and undaunted behaviour: at last, however, he was brought in some measure to a sense of his crime, by the representations of the archbishop of Rostof, and four nobles specially deputed for that purpose; and being then again exhorted to confess if he had any other associates of his guilt, he firmly replied, "As a man devoted to die, I solemnly declare, that my confession contains all I know: I call upon the Almighty to witness the truth of this assertion, and to denounce his severest vengeance upon me in the next world, if I have misrepresented any circumstance, or concealed any accomplice."

Being convicted of high treason, he was condemned to lose his head; and the body, together with the scaffold upon which he was to suffer, were ordered to be burnt upon the spot. This sentence was carried into execution on the 26th of September, in the large open square before the courts of justice in Petersburg. He walked to the place of execution along the streets, filled with an innumerable concourse of people, with an unconcerned air, and a steady and assured countenance. Having mounted the scaffold, he cast his eyes around him with a look of indifference; then crossed himself, and without uttering a single word *, laid down his head upon the block, and it was severed from his body at one stroke.

Mirovitch alone suffered capitally; his abettors were subjected to different penalties, according to the degrees of their guilt. Piskof, who was the most criminal, was sentenced to run the gauntlet twelve times through a line of a thousand men, and

* It may not be improper to remark, that Mirovitch was not gagged, as has been falsely asserted.

his

his five more immediate associates ten times; they were then condemned for life to hard labour and imprisonment; a sentence scarcely lighter than death itself. It is needless to discriminate the penalties imposed upon the others, which consisted chiefly in the gauntlet, in degradation, and in condemnation to serve in distant garrisons. It will be sufficient to observe, that fifty-five delinquents were involved in the treason of Mirovitch: to these must be added Casatkin and Tchevaridsef, who were found guilty of holding treasonable conversations with him; and Nikita Lebedef, who was punished for not having undeceived the soldiers by exposing the falsity of the imperial order which Mirovitch had forged.

These are the principal facts which I was able to collect respecting the life and death of Ivan; and I have endeavoured to state them with perfect impartiality. The same regard to truth prevents me from concealing the reports which were industriously circulated, that the court not only connived at, but even encouraged the attempt of Mirovitch. The accusation is stated in the following manner. Orders were previously given to captain Vlasief and lieutenant Tche-kin to destroy Ivan, if any attempt to release him should be likely to succeed; and for the purpose of furnishing them with a pretence for dispatching him, Mirovitch was privately instigated to form a conspiracy in his favour. The probability of this accusation is founded on the following proofs.

I. That in the attack of Mirovitch and his party on the guards of Ivan, not one person on either side was either killed or wounded.

II. That the conduct of Mirovitch upon the failure of his project, his daring and insolent behaviour under his trial,

BOOK and his calm composure at the place of execution, are not
V. upon any other supposition to be accounted for.

III. That orders were certainly given to Vlasief and Tche-kin for putting Ivan to death, and that they were as certainly promoted for executing those orders.

I. With respect to the first proof, we may readily allow the fact to have been very extraordinary; but by no means to be thought impossible on account of its singularity. It is a well-known circumstance, that in the out-skirts of an army large bodies of light troops frequently approach close to each other, and discharge their fire without effect. And if this frequently happens in the day time, its probability is still further increased, when we consider that the rencounter in question happened at two in the morning, and in the midst of a thick fog. The truth of this circumstance has been erroneously called in question: for I was informed at Schlusfelburgh, that almost every morning in summer a fog precedes sun-shine, which is naturally accounted for from the very situation of the island on which the fortress stands, in a marshy soil, and close to the largest lake in Europe.

Nor is it extraordinary that the centinels of Ivan, who were but a few, and some of these few sheltered in the passage, and others probably behind the pillars of the corridore, should not be wounded by the random shots of the assailants, wavering in their resolutions, and uncertain whether to comply with, or disobey, the orders of their leader. With respect to the party of Mirovitch, the whole number did not attack in a collective body; many of them even continued at some distance; and they were all so alarmed at the unexpected return of their fire, that they instantly dispersed, and probably before all the guards had discharged their muskets. And even if they had, as they consisted only of
eight

eight or ten, as the night was dark and the area large, it cannot be deemed surprizing that they missed the assailants. CHAP.
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To a person who has been upon the spot, and examined the position of the place, these circumstances and these suppositions are far from appearing to be improbable : whereas, on the other hand, if we conclude the whole to have been concerted, we must allow that every individual, on both sides, was previously informed that the attack, as well as defence, should be feigned ; a case in itself impossible, that a design of such importance, and the mode of accomplishing it, should be entrusted to so many, and those of no higher rank than common soldiers.

II. The second proof is drawn from the conduct of Mirovitch upon the death of Ivan, during his trial, and at the place of execution.

In regard to his behaviour upon the death of Ivan, it is objected, that, instead of attempting to make any resistance, he calmly, and of his own accord, delivered himself a prisoner. To this it may be answered, that he had founded all his hopes of success upon obtaining possession of Ivan's person ; the moment, therefore, that those hopes were frustrated by the death of that prince, his fate was decided. He had great difficulty in persuading the soldiers to make the second attack, when the prince was alive ; what assistance, therefore, could be expected from them when they knew that he was dead ! They had no other object than to release Ivan, and had even been unwillingly hurried on to favour that attempt. Could Mirovitch suppose that they would desperately assist him in attacking the officers, and in forcing an escape : and indeed whither could he escape ? He could neither conceal himself in the fortrefs, nor could he easily withdraw himself from the island. He had, therefore,

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no other alternative than self-destruction, or an immediate surrender. His preference of the latter may be attributed to the impulse of the moment, or rather perhaps to the cool intrepidity of his character. He had ventured his life and fortunes upon one risk of extreme hazard, and when that failed him, he knew and was prepared for the worst, and fullenly resigned himself to his fate: but after all, it is too much to expect that we should justify the conduct of an enthusiast, in the moment of disappointment and despair, upon the principles of sound judgement and deliberate reason*.

His daring insolence before the committee, and his calm indifference at the place of execution, are, it is alledged, not to be accounted for, but upon the supposition that he affected the former behaviour, in order to prevent the idea of any collusion; and the latter, because he was secure of a pardon: it is surmized, therefore, that he was only to lay down his head upon the block, and that a reprieve was to be ready at

* I cannot in this place avoid citing a passage from an anonymous author, who supposes a collusion between Mirovitch and the court: "Après un si noble exploit Mrs. Wlasief & Tchekin jettent le corps du prince assassiné devant la porte; et par un effet miraculeux Mirovitz, qui ne connoissoit alors le prince Ivan que de nom, le reconnoit dans ce moment pour son empereur non obstant le brouillard épais." A strange objection! as if, because Mirovitch was not acquainted with the person of Ivan, he should not know, or at least believe, the dead body to be his, when the guards cried out, "Here is your emperor." Could he conceive they had murdered an innocent person, merely with the view of deluding him? And were not the doors of the apartment thrown open, and he at full liberty to search and satisfy himself? Another passage from the same author must be mentioned for its glaring falsity: "Le coup inattendu le frappa tellement qu'il temoigne son repentir et

"son affliction à toute sa troupe, se rend prisonnier; et de toute sa garde qui étoit complice du même crime, lui seul qui en est le chef est arrêté et lui seul en est puni." The reader will be able to judge whether the soldiers who assisted Mirovitch were equally guilty with him; and whether he was the only person arrested, and the only person punished. The author of the above malevolent paragraph did not know, perhaps, that, by the laws of Russia, capital penalties are seldom inflicted; or that the accomplices of Mirovitch were severely punished. We may remind him, that even in the rebellion of Pugatchef, that impostor and four of his principal confederates were the only persons who suffered death: the other rebels were knotted and condemned to hard labour and imprisonment. The cause must be very bad indeed, when its defenders have recourse to such frivolous objections, and such glaring falsehoods. See *Pieces concernant la mort du Prince Ivan.*

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the place of execution. To this I briefly answer, that it is not to be conceived by what promises a man could possibly be persuaded to hazard himself in so critical a state. What could induce him to risk his life under a momentary stroke, to be given or suspended by a power extremely interested in his destruction? for the dead betray nothing; and his death would preclude all discovery of so infamous a transaction; and these strange suppositions are advanced, as if no rebel was ever undaunted during trial; nor any malefactor ever met death with firmness and even indifference.

III. With respect to the third proof, which rests upon the previous orders to the officers Vlasief and Tchekin, their execution of those orders, and their promotion in consequence, I clearly and decisively reply, that such orders were not peculiar to the guards of Ivan; they are always given to those who are appointed to secure state-prisoners of any consequence in Russia; they are to be justified generally upon reasons of state; nor were they invented upon the present occasion. During the whole reign of Elizabeth, this precaution had always been taken; and in the present instance the orders were renewed whenever the persons entrusted with the care of Ivan were changed.

But, in support of this third proof, it is further alledged, that the officers were too precipitate in dispatching the prince; they might have conveyed him to some place of greater security when the conspirators had been repulsed in their first onset. But whither could they convey him? they could not conceal him in the fortress, or remove him from the island. There could be no apartment more secure than that in which he was confined; and even if they had attempted to remove him, the shortness of the interval between the first and second assault would have prevented them. The assail-

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ants instantly returned as soon as the forged order was read to them, and they returned with a loaded cannon. It follows, therefore, that the officers and centinels found themselves incapable of opposition, and that Ivan must have fallen into the hands of Mirovitch : they had, therefore, no other alternative than to put him to death. Dreadful alternative indeed ! but what they were obliged to embrace, for the preservation of the publick tranquillity : if they performed their duty in this emergency, the approbation of their sovereign, and their subsequent promotion, were the natural, and, I even add, the just consequences.

But surely the whole conduct of Mirovitch, his association with Ushakof, their oath of fidelity, the violent manifesto against the empress, together with his treasonable intercourse with Casatkin and Tchevaridsef, are evident proofs that his design was not feigned ; that it originated from himself ; and had been planned some time before an opportunity offered of attempting it.

To suppose that the empress had formed the project of destroying Ivan ; that she employed Mirovitch as the instrument of that project ; that she secretly promised him his pardon ; that she suffered him to go to the place of execution fully secure of a reprieve ; that she there deceived him ; that she punished his associates, of whose criminality she was herself the immediate cause, imply such a complication of the basest fraud and horrid barbarity, that we ought not to listen to the imputation, were it founded even upon some degree of probable conjecture : whereas the proofs alledged amount to nothing more than mere surmises and vague conjectures ; and are totally refuted by the most valid arguments and indisputable testimony.

I cannot close this history without annexing the following short account of Ivan's family. His father Anthony Ulrick was son of Ferdinand Albert, and of Antonietta Amelia sister of Charlotte Christina, who espoused the tzarovitch Alexèy. He was brother of Charles late duke of Brunswick, and of that distinguished general prince Ferdinand. Anthony Ulrick was born in 1714; in 1733 was betrothed, upon his arrival at Petersburg, to the princess Anne of Mecklenburgh, the presumptive heiress of the Russian throne; and on the 14th of July, 1739, the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. On the day of that ceremony *, "who would have imagined that their union would one day produce their greatest misfortune?" and that this prince was called into Russia, not to share a throne, but a prison, with his consort?

The mother of Ivan, Elizabeth Catharine Christina, was daughter of Charles Leopold duke of Mecklenburgh, and of Catharine Ivanofna: she was born in 1718; and in 1731 invited to Petersburg by her aunt the empress Anne. Having embraced the Greek religion, she was rebaptized by the name of Anne, and espoused in 1739 Anthony Ulrick. Soon after the birth of Ivan, she was not only excluded from the throne, but even from any share in the administration of affairs during her son's minority. This event was brought about by the intrigues of Biren, who, upon the accession of Ivan, was declared regent. Having, by the assistance of count Munich, arrested Biren, the princess Anne assumed the regency and title of great-duchess, and was upon the point of declaring herself empress, when Elizabeth seized the reins of government.

* Manstein's Memoirs, p. 248.

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Upon that revolution this illustrious couple were, as I have before observed, successively confined at Riga, Dunemund, and Oranienbaum : from thence they were removed to Solomenskoi Ostrof, an island in the White Sea ; and, finally, to Kolmogori, a small town, situated in an island of the Dvina, about 40 miles from Archangel. Anne had four children by her husband during their joint imprisonment ; and she died in child-bed at Kolmogori, in March, 1746. Her body was brought to Peterburgh, and buried in the church of the convent of St. Alexander Nevski.

Manstein * has well drawn the weak, capricious, and indecisive character of the regent Anne ; who, with a moderate degree of firmness and prudence, might easily have defeated

* “ She was extremely capricious, passionated, and indolent ; hating affairs, and irresolute in trifles, as well as in affairs of the greatest importance. During the year of her regency she governed with a great deal of mildness. She loved to do good, but did not know how to do it properly. Her favourite, Juliana de Mangden, possessed her whole confidence, and governed her manner of life just as she pleased. Her ministers and the men of parts were hardly listened to. In short, she had none of the qualities fit for governing so great an empire in a time of trouble and difficulty. She had always a melancholick, and, rather, a fretful air ; which might proceed habitually from the vexations she had suffered from the duke of Courland during the reign of the empress Anne. She was handsome, had a very pretty figure, with a good shape ; and spoke with fluency several languages.” Manstein’s Memoirs, p. 316.

Count Munich says of her, “ Elle étoit naturellement fainéante et ne parut jamais au cabinet ; et lorsque je me presentai le matin chez elle avec ce qui étoit expédié au cabinet, ou ce qui demandoit quelque résolution, elle sentoît son insuffisance et me disoit souvent : Je voudrois

“ que mon fils fut déjà en âge de regner lui-même. — Elle étoit naturellement salope, se coeffoit d’un mouchoir blanc, alloit ainsi à la messe et sans jupe de balaine, et paroissoit de même en public et à sa table et après midi pour jouer aux cartes avec un parti choisi.

“ Elle vivoit mal avec le prince son époux, et fit lit à part, et lorsqu’il vouloit entrer le matin chez elle, il trouvoit ordinairement les portes fermées. — Dans la belle saison elle fit mettre son lit à coucher au balcon du palais d’hiver du côté de la rivière, il y avoit cependant un écran pour cacher ce lit, mais du second étage des maisons voisines du palais on pouvoit tout découvrir.” Ebauche, &c. p. 139, &c.

“ As to the prince her husband,” says Manstein, “ he had the best heart and the best temper imaginable, with all the intrepidity of courage that could have been wished in military affairs ; but too timid, too embarrassed, in affairs of state. He had come too young into Russia, where he had undergone a thousand crosses from the duke of Courland, who did not love him, and who often treated him very harshly.” Memoirs, p. 317.

the

the designs of Elizabeth: but the following anecdote, recorded by Busching, will perhaps display, in the strongest light, her mild and indolent character. During her confinement in the fortress of Riga, the prince of Brunswick frequently blamed her for having disregarded the information she daily received concerning the attempts of the opposite party: one day in particular he vehemently reproached her for rejecting his advice to arrest Elizabeth; adding, that, had that advice been followed, she and her family would not have been involved in their present misfortunes. "It may be so," returned the princess with great indifference, "but I shall never repent of my conduct; and it is better as it is, than to have preserved our sovereignty by shedding a deluge of blood*."

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Beside Ivan, she left four children, two sons and as many daughters, who were confined with their father in the monastery of Kolmogori, a place strong in itself, and, for greater security, surrounded with palisadoes. The archbishop and monks were removed to some houses in the village. The monastery is near the church to which the inhabitants resort. No centinels appeared on the outside; but within guard was mounted by soldiers, not in uniforms, but dressed like common peasants; so that no person, who had not been previously informed of the fact, would have suspected that state-prisoners of any consequence had been there confined. An English gentleman who passed a few years ago through Kolmogori, in his way to Archangel, went frequently to the church, in order, if it were possible, to obtain a sight of these illustrious persons; but they were so closely confined, that he never succeeded in his attempts to

* Bus. Hist. Mag. vol. I. p. 32. Busching had this anecdote from a favourite maid of honour who attended the regent in her confinement.

BOOK V. see them : he one day heard the prince of Brunswick playing upon the flute.

An adequate sum was allowed by the empress Elizabeth for their maintenance ; but, some time after their arrival at Kolmogori, great part of it was withheld from them by those who supplied their table ; and they had scarcely common necessaries. Some persons however, moved with compassion for their unhappy destiny, found means to acquaint the present empress with this circumstance ; who issued immediate orders that they should be provided with every possible comfort which they could receive under their unhappy situation : and these orders were punctually obeyed.

Anthony Ulrick died in 1780 at Kolmogori, in the 39th year of his imprisonment, and in the 67th of his age. Catharine II. whose good sense raises her above the usual suspicions of state-jealousy, has, by an unparalleled act of humanity, released from their long confinement the remaining branches of this illustrious family. In the same year in which their father expired, two princes and as many princesses, of whom the eldest is above 40 years old, were removed from Kolmogori to Archangel, and conveyed in a Russian vessel to Bergen in Norway. There they embarked on board of the Mars, a Danish man of war, and were landed, in the month of October, at Flatstrand in Jutland ; from which place they were conducted to Affens, where they now reside, under the care and protection of their aunt the queen-dowager of Denmark. The empress of Russia allots a considerable pension for their subsistence.

Having had frequent occasion to mention count Munich, I shall here throw together a few biographical anecdotes of that extraordinary man, who enjoyed the favour of five sovereigns of Russia ; who attained, at one period of his life, the

the highest honours ; and at another was doomed to a rigorous confinement of twenty years, which he sustained with an unbroken spirit *.

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II.

Count Burchard Christopher Munich, son of a Danish officer, was born at New-Huntorf, in the county of Oldenburgh, on the 9th of May, O. S. 1683. He received an excellent education ; and, in the 17th year of his age, entered into the service of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, who, on account of his knowledge in tactics, conferred upon him the rank of captain. He served his first campaign in 1701, when the emperor Joseph commanded against the French ; and was present at the siege of Landaw. In 1705 he was employed as a major by the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel ; and learned the art of war under the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene. He distinguished himself for his cool intrepidity in several engagements and sieges, and particularly at the battle of Malplaquet, when, in recompence for his bravery, he was made lieutenant-colonel. Being, in 1712, dangerously wounded at the battle of Denain, he was taken prisoner by the French ; and soon after his release, in the ensuing year, raised to the command of a regiment.

In 1716 he quitted the Hessian, and entered the Polish service, under Augustus II. and was soon promoted to the rank of major-general ; but, in 1721, being insulted by count Fleming, the king's favourite, he went into Russia, and was received in the most honourable manner by Peter I. Being charged by that great monarch with the execution of

* I have chiefly extracted this account from the Life of Count Munich, by Busching, who was intimately acquainted with him ; I have been enabled to add a few anecdotes, which I obtained from unquestionable authority. See Lebens Geschichte Burchard Christophs von Muenich. In Busch. Hist. Mag. III. p. 389 to 536.

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V. } several important trusts, both civil and military, he success-
fully filled the highest posts in the army and state. He
was created marshal by the empress Anne, and placed at the
head of the war department; he obtained the command of
the army against the Turks, and proved his military talents
by his successes in the campaigns of 1737 and 1738.

Soon after the death of the empress, he advised, planned,
and executed the arrest of Biren; and was rewarded by the
regent Anne with the office of prime-minister. But as he
was discontented at not being appointed generalissimo, and as
his power and ambition gave umbrage to the court, he re-
quested permission to resign his employments, and was asto-
nished at the readiness with which his request was granted.
Instead of repairing to the Prussian court, to which he was
strongly invited, he imprudently remained in Russia, flatter-
ing himself with the hopes of being reinstated in his former
dignity; and was arrested on the 6th of December, 1741,
by order of Elizabeth. The ostensible reason of his disgrace
was, that he had persuaded the empress Anne to nominate
Ivan her successor; but the real cause, as I was informed by
a person of veracity who received it from count Munich him-
self, was that, by order of that empress, he had taken into
custody one of Elizabeth's favourites.

Munich was brought before a committee appointed to ex-
amine the state-prisoners; being fatigued with repeated
questions, and perceiving that his judges were determined to
find him guilty, he said to them, "Dictate the answers
" which you wish me to make, and I will sign them." The
judges immediately wrote down a confession of several
charges, which being subscribed by Munich, his mock-trial
was concluded. Being thus without further ceremony con-
victed

victed of high treason, he was condemned to be quartered ; ^{CHAP.}
but his sentence was changed by Elizabeth to perpetual im- ^{IL}
prisonment. During that empresses reign, namely, for the
space of twenty years, he was confined at Pelim in Siberia, in
an ostrog, or prison surrounded with palisadoes, of which,
according to Manstein, he had himself drawn the plan, and
ordered to be constructed for the reception of Biren. The
place of his imprisonment was an area enclosed with high
palisadoes about 170 feet square; within which was a
wooden-house, inhabited by himself, his wife, and a few
servants; and a small garden, which he cultivated with his
own hands. He received a daily allowance of 12s. for
the maintenance of himself, his wife, and domesticks;
which little pittance he increased by keeping cows and sell-
ing part of their milk, and by occasionally instructing youth
in geometry and engineering. He behaved, during his long
confinement, with the utmost resignation, tranquillity, and
even cheerfulness. He was accustomed every day at dinner
to drink to his wife "a happy return to Peterburgh." He
had prayers twice a day, from eleven to twelve in the
morning, and from six to seven in the evening: they were
read in the German tongue by his chaplain Martens; and,
after his death, which happened in 1749, the count himself
performed the service. Beside the culture of his garden,
and the hours he passed in giving instruction, he found suf-
ficient leisure for composing hymns, for translating several
psalms and prayers into German verse, and for writing a treatise
upon the art of war: the latter he proposed, if ever he
should be released from his confinement, to present to the
king of Prussia. In the last year of his imprisonment, a
centinel informing against Munich's servants for supplying
him

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him with pens and paper, the count, in order to prevent any discovery, was obliged to destroy all his writings, the amusement and labours of so many years.

He had always supported himself with the expectation of recovering his liberty at the accession of Peter III. ; but he was no sooner informed of that event, than, with the agitation natural to a person in his state, he began to dread that his expectation was ill-founded. He suffered during several weeks the most alarming anxiety, perpetually fluctuated between hope and fear ; and was often heard to declare, that these few weeks appeared to him much longer than all the former years of his confinement. At length, on the morning of the 11th of February, 1762, the long expected messenger arrived from Peterburgh with the order for his release. Munich, who happened to be engaged in his prayers, did not perceive him ; and his wife made signs to the messenger not to disturb him. Upon being informed of his recall, he was so affected as to faint away ; but soon recovering, he fell down upon his knees, and in the most fervent manner offered up his thanks for this change in his situation. On the 19th he departed from Pelim, and arrived at Peterburgh on the 24th of March, in the same sheep-skin dress which he had worn in his prison. On the 31st he was admitted to an audience by the emperor : Peter, after hanging round his neck the order of St. Andrew, and restoring him to his antient rank, said to him, “ I hope that your advanced age will still permit you to serve “ me.”—“ Since your majesty,” replied the count at the conclusion of a long speech, “ has raised me from darkness into “ light, and recalled me from Siberia to prostrate myself “ before your throne ; I shall always be most willing to expose my life in your service. Neither a long banishment “ from

“ from the throne of majesty, nor the climate of Siberia, CHAP.
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“ have been able to damp, in the smallest degree, that fire
“ which formerly shone with such lustre for the interests of
“ the Russian empire, and the glory of its sovereign.”

Munich enjoyed the favour and protection of Peter III. and Catharine II. ; and died on the 16th of October, 1765, in the 83d year of his age.

C H A P. III.

Impostors who assumed the name of Peter III. particularly Pugatchef.—His origin and history.—He serves as a common Cossac.—Deserts to Poland.—Lives by charity.—Proceeds to Yaitsk.—State of the Russian sectaries in those parts, and the mutiny of the cossacs of Yaitsk favour his rebellion.—Declares himself to be Peter III.—Acknowledged by these cossacs.—Joined by other troops.—Collects an irregular army.—His progress and successes.—Horrid barbarity.—Weakness and ill-conduct.—Repeated defeats, escapes, and subsequent appearance.—He is finally routed.—Betrayed by his adherents.—Executed at Moscow.

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V.

ALTHOUGH the body of Peter III. was exposed to public view in the convent of Alexander Nevski, where it lay in state, yet several impostors started up in the distant regions of the Russian empire, and passed for that unfortunate monarch.

The first of these was a shoe-maker of Voronetz, who appeared in that town under the name of Peter III. a few years before the rebellion of Pugatchef; but he was soon taken and executed.

The second was a deserter from the regiment of Orlof: his name was Tchernichef, and he rose in the year 1770, in the small village of Kopenka upon the frontiers of Crim Tartary, at the time that a corps of troops was marching through that place. Some dissenting priests, in his interest, having suborned a number of followers, raised him upon the altar of the church, and were preparing to acknowledge him;





C. Ruotto sculpsit.

PUGATCHEF.

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him; but luckily the colonel of the regiment, being in-
formed of the tumult, repaired to the church at the head of
a strong guard, took him from the altar, and led him to
immediate execution. CHAP.
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A third was a peasant belonging to the Voronzof family, who had deserted from his village, and engaged as a common Cossack among those who are settled upon the Volga at Dubofka: a body of these Cossacks marching in the spring of 1772 from Tzaritzin to join the Russian army, he assembled them in a small post-house, situated in the lonely desert between the Don and the Volga, and declared himself to be Peter III. Having prevailed upon them to salute him emperor, and to take the oath of allegiance, he even appointed several officers of state. A few hours after this transaction, the commander of the troop unexpectedly arriving confounded the soldiers by his presence, seized the impostor by the hair, and by the assistance of the astonished Cossacks themselves, who had just declared in his favour, bound and conducted him a prisoner to Tzaritsin. During his trial the inhabitants of the fortress, excited by the false reports of his followers, actually rose in his favour, and were not without great difficulty dispersed by colonel Zipletof, the commander of the place. The impostor was then carried to one of the islands of the Volga, and knotted to death.

About the same time a malefactor, who had been transported to Irkutsk, formed a similar attempt, and had even gained over an officer who had a pension from the crown; but his secret being soon discovered, he underwent the same fate as those before-mentioned.

Yemelka Pugatchef, the rebel whose adventures are now under consideration, narrowly escaped the same ill fortune at his first appearance. This extraordinary man, son of the

BOOK V. **Cossac Ivan Pugatchef**, was born at Simoveisk, a small village upon the Don. He was a common cossac in the war which the Russians, during the reign of Elizabeth, carried on against the king of Prussia, and served in the same capacity during the campaign of 1769 against the Turks. He was at the siege of Bender; and upon the surrender of that town the following year demanded his dismissal, which being refused, he deserted and fled into Poland: he was there received and hid by some hermits of the Greek religion, and afterwards supported himself by begging alms in the town of Dubranka. From thence he made to the colonies in Little Russia, and continued among the sectaries, who are there established in great numbers; but being apprehensive of a discovery, he repaired to the principal settlement of the Cossacs of the river Yaik*, and persuaded several of them to accompany him to Kuban, but without having as yet assumed the name of Peter III. Being arrested at Malekofka for his treasonable conversation, he was sent for trial to Casan; where the indolence of the governor, and the delays in bringing him to justice, gave him time and opportunity of escaping with a priest, who had privately furnished him with money for intoxicating the centinels. He then went down the Volga, and up the river Irghis into the desert, and not long afterwards appeared under the character of Peter III. at the head of a large body of troops. The peculiar circumstances which served to favour his enterprize were derived from two principal causes, namely, the religious prejudices of the Russian dissenters, and the mutiny of the Cossacs of the Yaik.

* In order to extinguish all remembrance of this rebellion, the river Yaik is now called Ural, Yaitsk, Uralisk, and the Cossacs of the Yaik, the Uralian Cossacs.

The Russian dissenters, called by the established church *Roskolniki* or separatists, distinguish themselves by the name of *Staroverski*, or old believers *. These sectaries have been frequently persecuted, and particularly under Peter I. who compelled them to pay double taxes, and to wear a particular badge of distinction. Persecution, however, has only tended to increase their numbers; and they are still very numerous in Siberia, and among the Cossacs in the government of Orenburgh, where the rebellion of Pugatchef first broke out. They consider the service of the established church as profane and sacrilegious; they have their own priests and ceremonies; and Pugatchef was artful enough to take advantage of their religious prejudices, which he openly professed to espouse and protect.

The mutiny of a large body of Cossacs was the second cause which operated in favour of Pugatchef. The Cossacs of the Yaik, who are descended from those of the Don, are a very brave and valiant race, all enthusiasts for the antient ritual, and prizing their beards almost equal to their lives: they are rich from their considerable fisheries of sturgeons; they have also acquired a spirit of revolt and independence by being situated in a desert between the Calmucs and the Kirghese, who are continually at variance with each other, and often with the Cossacs themselves. During the war with the Turks, a certain number of recruits were required of these Cossacs for a corps of hussars; consequently their beards were ordered to be shaven; and as they opposed this infringement of their liberties and customs, major general Traubenberg, a Livonian officer, who was sent at the head of a few soldiers to Yaitsk to quell the tumult, imprudently commanded that the recruits should be shaven publicly in the

* For the origin of this sect see Vol. I. p. 323.

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That impostor, upon his escape from prison, went secretly to Yaitk about the middle of August, 1773, where he gained over a number of followers among the people who were enraged against the garrison, and who in the spring had shown a strong disposition to revolt when a report was circulated that a new emperor was coming amongst them; a report probably occasioned by the first appearance of Pugatchef in these parts. Having at Yaitsk obtained intelligence of the late mutiny, and of the desertion of the Cossacs, he went in pursuit of them; and having, in the month of October, found a large body of them employed in fishing, he informed them that he was the emperor Peter III.; that he had made his escape from prison, where persons were suborned to assassinate him; that the rumour of his death was only a fiction invented by the court; and that he now threw himself under their protection. It is not true that he bore the smallest resemblance to Peter III.; but he founded his hopes

hopes of gaining belief on the distance from the capital, on the ignorance of the people, on their actual insurrection, and, above all, on their attachment to their religious prejudices which he espoused and protected. Few arguments indeed were necessary to win over these Cossacs, already in a state of open rebellion; accordingly they all unanimously saluted him emperor, and offered to sacrifice their lives in his defence. With these, and other bodies of Cossacs, whom he found equally inclined to follow his standard, he made his first expedition to the new Polish colonies lately established upon the river Irghis, where he gave no proof of his subsequent barbarity, despoiling the inhabitants of nothing but arms and horses. He then presented himself before Yaitsk, and having ineffectually summoned the governor, in the name of Peter III. to surrender, he gave orders for an immediate assault: being repulsed, however, by the courage and intrepidity of the garrison, and finding little hopes of taking it by storm, he blockaded the place with a view of reducing it by famine; but his attempt was frustrated by the incredible perseverance of the garrison, who refused to capitulate, although they were so far streightened for want of provisions, as not only to eat their horses, but even to feed upon leather. This obstinate resistance protracted the siege until Yaitsk could be relieved by a body of Russian troops.

Pugatchef, though baffled in this enterprize, was more successful in his future operations: he led his followers against the Cossac colonies of Ilets; assaulted and carried, without opposition, the two fortresses of Bafyrnaya and Osernaya; attacked Tatishcheva, where he met with somewhat greater resistance; but as the fortifications were only of wood, he set fire to them, and forced the place. A body of troops sent against him from Orenburg, under colonel Bulof, partly through

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through weakness, and partly through misconduct, was overpowered. Another corps, who, in order to join the former, marched from Simbirsk up the Samara, under the command of general Tchernichef, (so ill were the operations concerted) arrived too late. Deceived by parties of Pugatchef's followers, they were drawn into the defiles near Tchernorethinik, and so suddenly beset, that they were incapable of making any resistance. In all these actions, the officers who fell into Pugatchef's hands were indiscriminately massacred; and the common soldiers were either made prisoners or joined the rebels. His army being considerably augmented by these successes, he ventured to besiege Orenburg, where the governor had scarce forces sufficient to defend the fortifications; and the town would have been inevitably taken, if the garrison of Krasnogorsk had not thrown themselves into the place by forcing their way through the besiegers.

As soon as the report of Pugatchef's progress was disseminated, the Baschkirs, a people unsettled under the Russian government, declared immediately for the impostor, and joined him in large bodies: their example was followed by many Russian colonists, and particularly by the peasants employed in the mines and founderies of the Uralian mountains*. These forces he either employed in the siege of Orenburg, before which town he spent part of the winter in all possible acts of wantonness, drunkenness, and cruelty, or sent them to collect money from the founderies, and to cast copper guns, and balls, which he used in battering Orenburg. At this time his army was so strong, that all the forces which could be drawn from Casan could scarcely oppose him at the ridge of the mountains lying between that town and Orenburg. In this same winter he received a pow-

* The Uralian mountains abound in copper-mines.

erful reinforcement by the junction of 11,000 Calmuc horse from the neighbourhood of Stauropol, who revolted and killed their commander brigadier Vegetak. Strengthened by these accessions, his troops roved over the whole mountainous district of Orenburg, where only the small town of Upha made the least resistance. He was even advancing to Catharienburg, where he would have found copper coin to the value of £200,000; but a delay, occasioned by a false report that a superior force was marching against him, fortunately afforded time to collect the foldiers stationed on the Siberian frontiers, and to cover that place.

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At first Pugatchef affected the appearance of uncommon sanctity: he frequently put on the episcopal dress; gave his benediction to the people; renounced all ambitious views for himself; and expressed a resolution that, as soon as he had raised his son the great-duke to the throne, he would again retire into the monastery, which had given him an asylum upon his escape from prison. He was also active and enterprising, eager to signalize his arms, and ready to seize every advantage which the situation of the enemy presented: but incapable of supporting with equanimity his successes which followed each other with such rapidity, he began to consider all further dissimulation as unnecessary; he became for some time dilatory in his measures, and his natural temper broke out into the most unwarrantable excesses.

He had omitted the most favourable opportunity of marching towards Moscow, where the spirit of rebellion had penetrated, and which would probably have fallen into his hands, as it was defended by only 600 regular troops, and as the Turkish war prevented marshal Romanzof from sending any great detachment from the troops on the Danube. Instead of vigorously continuing the progress of his army, he passed

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passed the greatest part of the winter before Yaitsk and Orenburg : at the siege of which latter place he massacred with the most savage barbarity all the officers and nobles who were brought before him ; and as he openly avowed an intention of extirminating the whole Russian nobility, he spared neither sex nor age ; but cut off, without compunction, women and children, as well as those who were capable of bearing arms against him. His conduct was as imprudent as it was barbarous. Though he was already married to Sophia, the daughter of a Cossack, by whom he had three children, he yet espoused a common woman of Yaitsk. He delayed his march against the enemy for the celebration of his nuptials, and exhibited continued scenes of the most public intoxication and riot.

He was supported by no persons of rank or consequence ; but, in order to impose upon his army, some of his most confidential adherents had assumed the names of the principal Russian nobility, and wore the several orders of knighthood. By a signal to his attendants he massacred all German officers who were brought before him, in order to prevent his ignorance of a language, which, as Peter III. he must have understood, from being observed by his followers.

During these transactions, general Belikof advancing into these parts at the head of a very considerable army, detached his major-general prince Peter Galitzin against the rebels, who surprized Pugatchef with his whole force near Tatishcheva, and worsted him for the first time. Being compelled to retire, he was closely pursued and overtaken by prince Galitzin near Kargula, upon the river Sakmara, about the distance of twelve miles from Orenburg ; he was completely routed, his desultory troops were dispersed, and he himself narrowly escaped with a few of his most faithful followers
into

into the Uralian mountains; but, notwithstanding this discomfort, he collected his scattered men, and soon made his appearance with a respectable force on the East side of those mountains. He carried several small fortresses, and burnt Troitzk; but being attacked near that place by lieutenant general de Colm, he was obliged to retreat a second time into the mountains. Rendered desperate by these repeated defeats, and desirous of again signalizing his arms by some brilliant exploit, he suddenly directed his march towards Casan, committing in his progress the most dreadful devastations. Having burnt the suburbs of that town, he laid siege to the citadel, which is built upon an eminence, and whither major-general Paul Potemkin the governor and all his attendants had retired. Being compelled to raise the siege by the approach of colonel Michaelson with a large detachment, and being closely pursued by that officer, he was again routed a little beyond Casan, after several obstinate engagements, which continued with little interruption during three days. This route was so general, that Pugatchef, accompanied only by three hundred well-armed Cossacs of Yaitsk, who were the most desperate rebels and in whom he chiefly confided, fled across the Volga. Afterwards he was joined by large bodies of Cossacs and Bashkirs; while ill-armed peasants, who looked upon him as their deliverer, flocked to his standard from very considerable distances. In this manner the impostor seemed to gain strength from his losses; and he derived such delusive hopes from the number of his troops, that he had even formed the resolution of proceeding to Moscow, where one of his emissaries had raised a spirit of sedition among the common people of that city. But apprehensive, lest, as peace was concluded with the Turks,

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part of the army on the Danube might now be employed against him, he soon changed his plan of operations.

He marched down the Volga, routed at Dubofka a party under the command of Baron Dies, stormed Penfa and Saratof, where the governor escaped only with fifty soldiers, and got possession of Demitrefsk by treachery, and executed the commander. Near that fortress the astronomer Lowitz, member of the Academy of Sciences, who was employed in levelling the projected canal between the Don and Volga, was murdered in a most inhuman manner. In this instance insult was added to cruelty : being informed that he was an astronomer, Pugatchef wantonly ordered him to be transfixed upon pikes and raised in the air, in order to be nearer the stars ; and in that situation he was massacred by the command, and in the presence, of the barbarian.

But the enormities of this monster were soon closed by a fate which he had long deserved. The court, no longer embarrassed with a Turkish war, was able to turn its whole attention towards crushing this distant rebellion ; and count Peter Panin, who had distinguished himself by the taking of Bender, was sent against the impostor. That able general, moving towards the Volga, detached several regiments to the assistance of colonel Michaelson, who, strengthened by this reinforcement, forced Pugatchef to raise the siege of Tzaritzin, drove him towards Tchernoyarsk, cut off his provisions, and finally attacked him unawares as he was marching with his half-starved multitude, embarrassed with a large train of loaded carriages and women who followed his camp. The rebel army being surprized in a defile between two ridges of mountains

mountains which run towards the Volga, was entirely routed; many were cut to pieces; more, as they were endeavouring to escape, were precipitated down the steep precipices with their horses and carriages; and the greatest part of the remainder surrendered at discretion. Pugatchef, after many desperate efforts of valour, escaped with a few of his principal followers by swimming across the Volga, and retired through the desert towards the river Ufem, where he had begun his first expedition. Here he was gradually deserted by his followers, who were worn out with misery and hunger, and was at last betrayed by those in whom he placed the greatest confidence. Tvogorof a Cossack of Iletz, and Tchumakef and Fidulef Cossacks of Yaitsk, were induced by the promise of a pardon to betray him. One of these persons represented to the impostor, that, surrounded as he was by the enemy, he could entertain no hopes of safety, and advised him to resign himself into the hands of the Russians upon condition of receiving a pardon. Pugatchef, however, was so enraged at this proposal, that he drew his dagger, and attempted to stab the author of such dastardly advice; upon which his companions instantly disarmed, bound, and conducted him a prisoner to a corps of troops posted upon the river Yaik under general Savorof's orders. He was conveyed to the town of Yaitsk; and from thence delivered to count Panin at Simbirsk, who sent him, with his principal confederates, to Moscow; where he arrived in the month of November, 1774.

Being examined, he acknowledged all the circumstances of his imposture, and was publicly beheaded in the city of Moscow, on the 21st of January. His body was then quartered, and exposed in different places of the city.

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Nothing can place the humanity of the empress in a stronger light, than that, at the conclusion of a rebellion which almost shook her throne, the impostor Pugatchef was not put to the torture*; and that only he and five of his principal confederates suffered death.

* When I visited the prison of Moscow, I saw several horrid instruments which had been made on purpose to torture Pugatchef, but which, by the empresses positive orders,

were not used. L'Evesque is wrong, therefore, in asserting that he was racked to death. "*Il perit du supplice de la roue.*" Vol. V. p. 143.

C H A P. IV.

Description of the knoot.—Penal laws of Russia.—Abolition of capital punishments by the edict of Elizabeth.—Remarks upon that edict.—Capital punishments not really, though apparently, suppressed.—Abolition of torture by the present empress.—Her majesty's answer to the author's queries upon prisons.—Outlines of the new code of laws.—Its excellence and beneficial tendency.

ONE morning as I was casually strolling through the streets of St. Petersburg, near the market place, I observed a vast croud of people flocking to one particular spot. Upon inquiring of my Russian servant the cause of this concourse, he informed me, that the multitude was assembled in order to see a felon, who had been convicted of murder, receive the knoot. Although I naturally shuddered at the very idea of being a spectator to the agonies of a fellow-creature, yet my curiosity overcame my feelings. With the assistance of my servant I penetrated through the croud, and ascended the roof of a wooden house of one story, from whence I had a distinct view of the dreadful operation, which was already begun. The executioner held in his hand the knoot*: this instrument is a thong, about the thickness of a

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* The following are the exact dimensions and weight of a knoot, which I procured in Russia, and which is now in my possession.

Length of the thong 2 feet; breadth of the top $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch; at the bottom $\frac{1}{2}$.—Thickness $\frac{1}{8}$.—Length of the plaited whip 2 feet.—Circumference of ditto $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—Diameter of the ring 1 inch and $\frac{5}{8}$.—Length of the leather spring 1 inch and $\frac{1}{2}$.

—Length of the handle 1 foot $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.—Length of the whole 5 feet 5 inches and $\frac{5}{8}$.—Weight 11 ounces.

The reader will judge of the great force which the skilful executioner can give to this instrument, when informed, that if he receives a private order, he can dispatch the criminal by striking him two or three blows upon the ribs.

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crown-piece, and about three quarters of an inch broad, and rendered extremely hard by a peculiar kind of preparation : it is tied to a thick plaited whip, which is connected, by means of an iron ring, with a small piece of leather that acts like a spring, and is fastened to a short wooden handle.

The executioner, before every stroke, receded a few paces, and at the same time drew back the hand which held the knoot ; then, bounding forwards, he applied the flat end of the thong with considerable force to the naked back of the criminal in a perpendicular line, reaching six or seven inches from the collar towards the waist. He began by hitting the right shoulder, and continued his strokes parallel to each other quite to the left shoulder ; nor ceased till he had inflicted 333 lashes, the number prescribed by the sentence. At the conclusion of this terrible operation, the nostrils of the criminal were torn with pincers, his face marked with a hot iron, and he was re-conducted to prison, in order to be transported to the mines of Nerzhinsk in Siberia.

As several authors have erroneously described or exaggerated the punishment of the knoot, I have been thus particular in relating what fell under my observation ; and I shall take this opportunity of throwing together a few remarks upon the penal laws of Russia.

By the antient statutes, felons, as well as traitors, were publickly executed ; but by an edict of the empress Elizabeth, certain corporal penalties were, in cases of felony, substituted in the room of capital sentences, a circumstance peculiar to the Russian code.

According to the present penal laws, offenders are punished in the following manner.

Persons convicted of high treason are either beheaded or imprisoned for life.

Felons,

Felons, after receiving the knoot, having their nostrils torn and their faces marked, as I have just described, are condemned for life to work in the mines of Nerzhinsk. CHAP.
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Petty offenders are either whipped *, transported into Siberia as colonists, or sentenced to hard labour for a stated period. Among the colonists are included peasants, who may be arbitrarily consigned by their masters to banishment †.

All these persons, felons and others, are transported in spring and autumn from different parts of the Russian dominions. They travel part of the way by water, and part by land; are chained in pairs, and fastened to a long rope: at night they are carried to different cottages, and guarded by the soldiers who conduct them. When the whole troop arrive at Tobolsk, the governor assigns the colonists who have been bred to handicraft trades to different masters in the town; others he disposes as vassals in the neighbouring country. The remainder of the colonists go on to Irkutsk, where they are disposed of by the governor of that town in the same manner. The felons then proceed alone to the district of Nerzhinsk; where they are condemned to work in the silver mines, or at the different forges.

Travellers, who have visited Russia previous to the reign of Elizabeth, uniformly concur in relating the various modes of publick executions, and in reprobating the severity of the criminal laws. But though we may join with every friend to humanity in rejoicing that many of these dreadful punishments no longer exist, yet we cannot assent to the high encomiums passed upon the superior excellence

* There are three instruments for whipping in Russia: the knoot, the katze, and the plett, both of which latter are a kind of cat-o-nine-tails.

† Their masters are empowered to inflict this punishment, only assigning the cause of the offence.

BOOK V. of the penal code since the edict of Elizabeth, which is supposed to have totally annulled capital condemnations.

From this suppression of capital punishment in all instances excepting treason, Elizabeth has been represented, not only by the lively Voltaire, but even by the sagacious Blackstone *, as a standard of legislative clemency. Yet, however

* Voltaire thus expresses himself upon this edict. "L'Impératrice Elizabeth a achevé par la clémence l'ouvrage que son père commença par les loix. Cette indulgence a été même poussée à un point dont il n'y a point d'exemple dans l'histoire d'aucun peuple. Elle a promis que pendant son regne personne ne serait puni de mort, & a tenu sa promesse. Elle est la première souveraine qui ait ainsi respecté la vie des hommes. Les malfaiteurs ont été condamnés aux mines, aux travaux publics : leurs châtimens sont devenus utiles à l'état ; institution non moins sage qu'humane. Partout ailleurs on ne fait que tuer un criminel, avec appareil, sans avoir jamais empêché les crimes. La terreur de la mort fait moins d'impression peut-être sur des méchants pour la plupart fainéants, que la crainte d'un châtiment & d'un travail pénible qui renaisent tous les jours." Hist. de Russie, p. 120.

Sir William Blackstone makes the following remark upon the same prohibition.

"Was the vast territory of all the Russias worse regulated under the late empress Elizabeth, than under her more sanguinary predecessors? Is it now under Catharine II. less civilized, less social, less secure? And yet we are assured, that neither of these illustrious princesses have, throughout their whole administration, inflicted the penalty of death ; and the latter has, upon full persuasion of its being useful, nay, even pernicious, given orders for abolishing it entirely throughout her extensive dominions." Commentaries, vol. IV. p. 10.

And lately L'Evesque, "Les grands

crimes ont commencé à devenir plus rares sous ce regne, où personne n'a été puni de mort." Hist. de Russie, Tom. V. p. 92.

Voltaire assigns as the grounds of his encomiums on Elizabeth's suppression of capital punishment, the two following reasons : 1. That the permanent chastisement which entails upon the offender a long continuance of hardships and misery, has a greater effect upon the multitude than the summary pangs of death. 2. That the preservation of malefactors is subservient to publick emolument. 1. Upon the first reason I shall briefly remark, that the horror of dissolution has been repeatedly observed in the generality of mankind to preponderate beyond any other terrors ; and that if we could devise a punishment more terrible than death, this new punishment, in order to work its effect upon vulgar minds, ought to be inflicted within the reach of vulgar observation, and not in the remotest region of Siberia. For can we suppose that the lower class of mankind, who are governed by their senses, receive any strong impression from the casual report of sufferings endured at a great distance? 2. Voltaire's second reason for his applause of Elizabeth's edict, namely, the profit which the community derives from the labour of a malefactor whose life is spared, will hardly be allowed to hold good in regard to murderers ; for if capital punishments be really the most efficacious prevention of crimes, they will necessarily form a stronger bulwark round the lives of orderly citizens than any other penalties. The legislator, therefore, who subverts this security with a view to the emolument of the state, actually revives the old barbarous custom

however incontrovertible it may be that the infliction of death for offences which should not be esteemed capital is much too frequent in many countries, we may venture to affirm, that Elizabeth's modification of the criminal laws is perhaps no less exceptionable, in point of policy and expedience, than illusive in regard to its supposed lenity.

With respect to the first position, its contradiction to sound policy; should we even erroneously suppose, with some authors *, that the edict has been literally obeyed, and that, during the space of forty years, not one criminal has suffered death throughout the vast empire of Russia, surely this lenity to the most atrocious crimes cannot but be considered as extremely injurious to the society. For, as a denunciation of death is probably, to the generality of mankind, the most formidable prevention of crimes, the removal consequently of this salutary terror withdraws a material safe-guard from the lives and property of worthy citizens, and diminishes that security which these valuable members of society have a right to claim from the protection of the laws. I advance,

custom of weighing the life of man in a scale against pecuniary advantage, with this material difference, however, in favour of that barbarous custom, that the latter assigned the price of blood to the relations of the person whose blood had been shed, and who had a more immediate claim, than the community at large, on any compensation made by the offender.

Judge Blackstone intimates his doubts concerning the superior efficacy of capital punishments over other penalties in the shape of a query. Was the vast territory, &c. But no reader can perhaps answer this question in the negative; nor could the sagacious author himself have answered it in the affirmative. For can it be decisively determined, except by a collection and comparison, during a long series of years, of felonies respectfully committed under the

two different modes of jurisprudence? and judge Blackstone does not pretend to have formed his theory on this ground; But after all, this reasoning supposes a fact which in reality does not exist, that no criminal has suffered capitally since the accession of Elizabeth; the falsity of which assertion is, as I flatter myself, abundantly proved in the context.

I entered Russia fully prejudiced in favour of the notion, that there no persons were ever punished with death. I was first undeceived by a foreign gentleman, to whom I addressed the question, Whether there were any capital executions in Russia? "Malefactors, indeed," he returned, "are not beheaded or hanged; but they are not unfrequently knotted to death."

* See the former note.

BOOK however, this first objection to this celebrated and much-
 V. extolled edict with that hesitation which the interests of
 humanity and the intricate nature of the subject require.

But with regard to the second objection, that its lenity is
 illusive, that position will not rest merely upon theoretical
 reasoning, but be incontrovertibly established by positive
 fact. A dispassionate person will probably feel no extraor-
 dinary veneration for this boasted abolition of capital pu-
 nishment, when he reflects, that though the criminal laws
 of Russia do not *literally* sentence malefactors to death, they
 still consign many to that doom through the medium of pu-
 nishments, in some circumstances, almost assuredly, if not
 professedly fatal, which mock with the hopes of life, but in
 reality protract the horrors of death, and embitter with delay
 an event which reason wishes to be instantaneous. For
 when we consider that many felons expire under the inflic-
 tion, or from the consequences of the knout; that several
 are exhausted by the fatigue of the long journey to Ner-
 shinsk *, the remotest region of Siberia; and that the for-
 lorn remnant perish in general prematurely from the un-
 wholesomeness of the mines, it will be difficult to view the
 doom of these unhappy outcasts in any other light than that
 of a lingering execution.

In effect, since the promulgation of the edict in question,
 a year has never passed in which many atrocious criminals,
 though legally condemned to other penalties, have not been
 capitally punished. And indeed, upon a general calculation,
 it will perhaps be found, that notwithstanding the apparent
 mildness of the penal code, not fewer malefactors suffer death
 in Russia, than in those countries wherein that mode of pu-
 nishment is appointed by the laws. It will therefore be

* 4776 miles from Peterburgh.

evident to the reader, that capital penalties are virtually and necessarily retained, although the chief utility resulting from the terror of certain destruction is considerably diminished. CHAP.
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The panegyrists of Elizabeth would certainly have entertained some doubts concerning her boasted clemency, if they had recollected that she did not abolish, but retained the following horrid process for the purpose of extorting confession from persons charged with treasonable designs.

The arms of the suspected person being tied behind by a rope, he was drawn up in that posture to a considerable height in the air; from whence, being suddenly precipitated to within a small distance of the ground, and being there as suddenly checked, the violence of the concussion dislocated his shoulders, and in that deplorable situation he underwent the knoot. To this dreadful engine of barbarity and despotism, Elizabeth, amidst all her imputed lenity, gave unlimited scope; and, during her whole reign, it was ordinarily applied even at the discretion of inferior and ignorant magistrates; nor was it abolished until the accession of the present empress, who has prohibited the use of torture in all criminal cases.

Although the sovereign of this empire is absolute in the most unlimited sense of the word; yet the prejudice of the Russians in regard to the necessity of torture (and a wise legislator will always respect popular prejudices, be they ever so absurd and unreasonable) was so deeply rooted by immemorial usage, that it required great circumspection in the empress not to raise discontents by an immediate abolition of that inhuman practice. Accordingly, the cautious manner in which it was gradually suppressed discovered as much judgement as benevolence. In 1762, Catharine, soon after her accession, took away the power of inflicting torture from

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the vayvodes, or inferior justices, by whom it had been shamefully abused. In 1767 a secret order was issued to the judges in the several provinces, that whenever they should think torture requisite to force a criminal to confession, they should draw up the general articles of the charge, and lay the case before the governor of the province for his consideration: and all the governors had received previous directions to determine the case according to the principles laid down in the third question * of the tenth chapter of her majesty's instructions for a code of laws; wherein torture is proved to be no less useless than cruel. This, therefore, was a tacit abolition of torture, which has been since formally and publickly annulled. The prohibition of torture throughout the vast dominions of the Russian empire forms a memorable æra in the annals of humanity.

According to the plan I laid down, I visited the Russian prisons at Moscow and Peterburgh, of which I have already given an ample account in a former publication †. In this place I shall only remark in general, that the empress being informed of my researches in relation to prisons, with a condescension peculiar to her character, permitted me to deliver to count Ivan Tchernichef, vice-president of the admiralty, a list of queries, with respect to some of which I received information, by her orders, from her best-informed governors ‡, and others she even condescended to answer herself. The latter I shall here subjoin, with a full conviction, that observations even of less moment would be rendered acceptable by the authority of so distinguished a character.

* Question III. "La question ne blesse-t-elle pas la justice, et conduit-elle au but, &c. See Instruction de Catharine II. &c. p. 51 to 55.

† Account of the Prisons and Hospitals in Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, &c.

‡ I have made use of these papers in the treatise mentioned in the last note.

Queries upon the Russian prisons, delivered to the empress.

Answers dictated by the empress to her secretary, and sent to the author. CHAP.
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1. *Is there any general plan for the construction of prisons, and their interior distribution? and are they usually situated in the suburbs, and near the running water?*

" 1. There has been hitherto
" no general plan for the
" construction of prisons, nor
" rules for their distribution
" and situation.

2. *What precautions are taken in order to keep the prisons clean, and to prevent epidemical distempers?*

" 2. There is no more re-
" gulation for the cleanliness
" of the prisons, than for their
" construction and situation.
" By an abuse, favourable to
" the prisoners, they are in
" many places permitted to go
" to the baths. It is probable
" that the cold alone prevents
" epidemical disorders.

3. *Is there a separate infirmary for the sick?*

" 3. Not every where.

4. *Are petty offenders kept apart from the felons, and are the felons also separated from each other?*

" 4. Although it is prescribed
" by the antient laws that a fe-
" lon, when he is sentenced to
" death, shall be kept in a sepa-
" rate room, called the cham-
" ber of repentance, neverthe-
" less, there are no where
" chambers of that description.

5. *Are the prisoners permitted to purchase spirituous liquors, and do the jailers sell them?*

" 5. Every species of food is
" sold in the prisons, but the
" jailer cannot sell spirituous-
" liquors,

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6. *Are female criminals put in irons?*

7. *Is the fate of criminals condemned to hard labour ever mitigated in case of reformation? Do they wear any badge of infamy, and is it taken away upon good behaviour?*

8. *Are there fixed times and places in the several pro-*

“liquors, and that fortwo rea-
“sons. First, because spiritu-
“ous liquors can only be sold
“by those who farm the right
“of vending them from the
“crown. Secondly, what is
“very extraordinary, there
“are no jailers* to any of the
“prisons, although the laws
“make mention of them.

“6. The laws are silent upon
“this head. So that whenever
“this custom is practised, it
“must be reckoned among
“those innumerable abuses,
“which ought to be abolish-
“ed †.

“7. Criminals condemned
“to publick labour are trans-
“ported: for murder they are
“branded in the face with an
“hot iron, &c. some are chain-
“ed, others have their nos-
“trils torn; and unless, upon a
“general or particular am-
“nesty, they receive no mi-
“tigation.

“8. The laws settled indeed
“certain times for this pur-

* The prisoners are guarded by soldiers.

† The original passage, which is in the French language, does not admit of a literal translation.

“Les loix passent sous silence ce point: ainsi ce qui pourroit se faire à cet égard
“peut être compté parmi l’inombrable quantité des abus. Ces abus sont pour la plupart
“autant de cloux qu’il faut tirer du corps politique de l’état où on les trouve.”

“pose;

vinces for the trial of criminals?

“pose; but, as a great quantity
 “of different affairs and trials
 “were decided in the same
 “tribunal, the courts of cri-
 “minal justice were very di-
 “latory in their proceedings.
 “See the manifesto of 1775,
 “at the head of the Regula-
 “tions *, &c.

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“New plan for the Russian prisons, to be introduced into
 “each government.

- “1. To divide the prisons into civil and criminal.
- “2. The criminal prison shall be distributed into three
 “parts. The first, for criminals before and during trial;
 “the second, for persons sentenced to confinement for a stated
 “time; and the third, for felons capitally convicted, con-
 “demned to perpetual imprisonment or to the publick works.
- “3. Each part shall be separated, one for the men, the
 “other for the women.
- “4. There shall be an infirmary for sick prisoners.
- “5. The prison shall be constructed without the town in
 “an airy situation, and near the water.”

It cannot be otherwise than a subject of pleasing reflection to the reader, that this great princess thus condescends to contemplate and alleviate the sufferings of even the wretched victims to publick justice; but how much more will the veneration for her memory be increased, when he considers her as erecting the glorious superstructure of national happiness on the firm basis of equal legislation?

The empress at her accession found the Russian code of laws a rude and indigested chaos; and saw the immediate

* Reglements de sa Maj. Imp. pour l'administration des Gouvernements, &c.

necessity

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necessity of amending and reforming it. The courts of justice were regulated by the statutes of Alexèy Michaelovitch*, extremely defective both as to order and precision, and by the *ukases* or imperial mandates issued by Peter and his successors, uncommonly numerous, and in many important points contradictory to each other.

The vast empire of Russia was distributed into a few extensive governments: each government was subdivided into provinces, and each province into districts or circles. Over each government was appointed a governor; over the provinces a *vayvode* and his officers, who formed a chancery; and over the districts an inferior *vayvode*, or a kind of justice of peace.

The abuses which resulted from this distribution are sufficiently detailed in the following passage, from the manifesto of the empress prefixed to the first part of the new code†:

“ We find that many governments are not sufficiently
“ provided with tribunals or officers of justice in proportion
“ to their extent; that not only the affairs of the treasury
“ and of the police, but also the civil and criminal causes are
“ tried in the same court in which the administration of go-
“ vernment is carried on. Nor are the provinces and dis-
“ tricts in these same governments less subject to similar in-

* The earliest regular code of written laws was formed, in 1542, by Ivan Vassilievitch II. from precedents and antient customs.

The statutes of Alexèy Michaelovitch, alluded to in the context, were chiefly composed from the above mentioned code, from the mandates of the sovereigns subsequent to Ivan Vassilievitch II. from the decisions of the boiars, who in those times presided in the high courts of justice, and from the

Byzantine laws or edicts issued by the Greek emperors of Constantinople. The new statutes, compiled from these sources, with a few additions, being in 1650 read in the czar's presence, were printed, and a copy sent into each province.

See Statuta Moschovitica in Herbersteini Itin. in Moschoviam; also Von Justiz-Wesen in Haygold's Beylagen, p. 379.

† Reglements de Catharine II. &c. p. VII.

“conveniences, as the sole chancery of the vayvode is the
 “only court which has cognizance of so many and such dif-
 “ferent affairs. The disorders resulting from these circum-
 “stances are but too evident: on one side delays, omissions,
 “and vexations, are the natural consequences of so incon-
 “gruous and defective a constitution; where one business
 “impedes another, and where the impossibility of terminating
 “matters so various in the sole chancery of the vayvode oc-
 “casions procrastination, neglect of duty, and admits only
 “a partial dispatch of business; on the other side, these de-
 “lays generate chicanery, and encourage the commission of
 “crimes, because the punishment does not follow the trans-
 “gression of the laws with that celerity which is necessary to
 “repress and strike terror into offenders, while the endless
 “appeals * from one court to another are perpetual obstruc-
 “tions to justice.”

But the greatest evil to the lower class of people was de-
 rived from the enormous authority of the inferior vayvode,
 who, though usually a person of low birth, and totally igno-
 rant of the laws, yet could not only impose punishment for
 petty offences, but had even the power of ordering the knoot,
 of inflicting torture, and of transporting to Siberia. Hence
 persons suspected of crimes were detained in prison several
 years without being brought to a final trial; were applied to
 the torture without sufficient proof, and frequently more
 than once.

Many sovereigns subsequent to Alexèy Michaelovitch, and
 particularly Peter I. had framed the project for amending

* The manifesto of the empress enu-
 merates the following instances of appeal in
 the affairs relative to commerce, as well as
 all causes of merchants or burghers. “A
 “person, not content with the decision by
 “oral judgement, could carry his cause be-

“fore the magistrate of the town, from
 “whose sentence he might appeal to the
 “magistrate of the province, from him suc-
 “cessively to the magistrate of the govern-
 “ment, to the superior magistrate, and
 “lastly to the senate.” Ibid. p. VIII.

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and reforming the Russian jurisprudence; but had never carried it into execution: the completion of this arduous undertaking was reserved for Catharine II.; who, in 1767, summoned deputies to Moscow from every part of her extensive dominions, and having appointed commissioners for composing a new code of laws, delivered to them her Grand Instructions *, which had been previously composed by her imperial majesty in the true spirit of genuine legislation.

In conformity to these instructions, the first part of a new code made its appearance in 1775; and a second part in 1780; and has been received in many of the new governments, into which the Russian empire has been lately divided.

Many of the abuses, as well those above enumerated as others of no less moment, have been removed by these new institutions; and many of them still existing will be abolished, if the empress has time to complete the system.

As an ample detail of these regulations falls not within the compass of the present work, nor within the capacity of the author, it is to be hoped that the curiosity of the publick will be in some measure gratified by the enumeration of the most striking peculiarities in this extensive plan; which has changed and modified the whole system of government.

The empire, which had been divided by Peter the Great into nine extensive governments, is now distributed into a larger number †, each upon an average containing only from

3 to

* "Instructions de Catharine II. Pour la Commission chargée de dresser le Projet d'un Nouveau Code de Loix." St. Pet. 1769.

These instructions have been translated into most modern languages, and into English by Tatischev, a Russian gentleman; to which is prefixed, a description of the manner of opening the commission with the order and rules for electing the commission-

ers appointed to frame a new code of laws. See The Grand Instructions, &c. printed by Jefferys.

† The first provinces erected into governments, according to the new institution, were Tver and Smolensko in January, 1776. Those which have been since established, either before or during my residence in Russia, were in the following order: Novogorod and Kaluga in December, 1776; Pleskof,

3 to 400,000 souls. One or more of these governments is CHAP.
IV. superintended by a namestnik, or lord-lieutenant, and each of them has a vice-governor, a council, civil and criminal courts of judicature, some of whose members are appointed by the sovereign, and the others are chosen by the nobles. By this institution Catharine has in some instances set bounds to her absolute prerogative, by diminishing the power of those tribunals which were only dependent upon the crown, by transferring it to the nobles, and investing them with many additional privileges with respect to the administration of justice. As she has introduced likewise into each government superior tribunals, whose decision is final, she has prevented, by these means, frequent appeals to the imperial colleges at Petersburg and Moscow, which were attended with considerable expence and delay. By establishing or separating the different boards of finance, police, &c. from the courts of law, which before impeded each other by meeting in the same place, she has facilitated the dispatch of business, and rendered the administration of justice more speedy. She has increased the salaries of the judges, who before, from the narrowness of their income, were necessarily exposed to almost irresistible temptations from bribery: or, to use her own expressions to the judges, in her celebrated edict, "Formerly your necessities might have induced you to be too attentive to your own interests: your country now

Pleskof, Yaroslaf, and Tula, in December, 1777; Polotsk and Mohilef in May, 1778; Refan, Volodimir, Kostroma, and Orel, in December, 1778.

By the latest accounts from Petersburg, the governments were ranged in the following manner.

1. Moscow. 2. Petersburg. 3. Wiburgh. 4. Tver. 5. Novogorod. 6. Pleskof. 7. Smolensk. 8. Mohilef. 9. Polotsk. 10. Orel. 11. Kurk. 12. Karkof. 13. Vo-

ronetz. 14. Tambof. 15. Refan. 16. Tula. 17. Kaluga. 18. Yaroslaf. 19. Vologda. 20. Volodimir. 21. Kostroma. 22. Nishnei Novogorod. 23. Viatka. 24. Permia. 25. Tobolsk. 26. Koiyvan. 27. Irkutsk. 28. Ufa. 29. Simbirsk. 30. Casan. 31. Penza. 32. Saratof. 33. Astracan. 34. Azof. 35. New-Russia. 36. Little-Russia. 37. Kiof. 38. Tchernichef. 39. Livonia, or Riga. 40. Esthonia, or Reval. 41. Novogorod-Severskoi. 42. Orenburgh.

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“pays your labours; and what before might admit of some excuse, from this moment becomes a crime.” She has considerably increased the expences of the crown in each government,* without increasing the taxes; which she has been enabled to perform by introducing a more regular order into the finances.

To these regulations must be added the abolition of torture; the settling of the proper boundaries between the several governments, which has prevented many dissensions and law-suits; the appointment of regular physicians and surgeons stationed in various districts at the crown’s expence; the foundation of schools for the education of the nobility, others for children of persons of inferior rank; the establishment or augmentation of new seminaries for those intended for holy orders; the erection of new bodies corporate with additional immunities; the grant of freedom to numberless vassals of the crown; and facilitating the means of giving liberty to the peasants.

Such are the outlines of these excellent institutions. How far, or in what degree, they may operate upon a people so widely dispersed, and of such different manners and customs, can only be proved by time and experience. But though they may fail in producing *all* those advantages which from their intrinsic excellence the speculative reasoner might expect, yet they must be attended with the most beneficial effects; as indeed sufficiently appears from the flourishing state of those provinces in which they have been already admitted.

If it be allowed that many evils are reformed, and many improvements have been introduced, it cannot at the same

* The expences of the government of Tver amount to £24,000 per annum; and the revenues to £175,000.

time be supposed that the national manners should be suddenly changed ; or that even the most absolute sovereign can venture to shake those fundamental customs which have been sanctioned by ages, and which oppose any violation even of those rights that infringe the common principles of humanity. It is surely sufficient if the abuses are remedied, as much as can be expected in a country, where the vast disproportion of rank and fortune, and the absolute vassalage of the peasants render it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to establish at once an impartial and incorrupt administration of justice. CHAP. IV.

Russia, with respect to the vast mass of its people, is nearly in the same state in which the greatest part of Europe was plunged in the 11th and 12th centuries ; when the feudal system was gradually declining ; when the unbounded authority of the land-holders over their slaves was beginning to be counterbalanced by the introduction of an intermediate order of merchants ; when new towns were continually erecting, and endowed with increasing immunities ; and when the crown began to give freedom to many of its vassals.

C H A P. V.

Inquiry into the present state of civilization in the Russian empire.—Division of the inhabitants into I. nobles, II. clergy, III. merchants and burghers, IV. peasants.—General remarks on these orders.—Privileges granted by the empress to the merchants, burghers, and peasants.—State of vassalage.—Conclusion.

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MUCH has been written concerning the great civilization which Peter I. introduced into this country ; that he obliged the people to relinquish their beards, and their national dress ; that he naturalized the arts and sciences ; that he disciplined his army, and created a navy ; and that he made a total change throughout each part of his extensive empire. We may readily allow the truth of this eulogium with respect to his improvements in the discipline of his army and the creation of a navy, for these were objects within the reach of the persevering genius of a despotick sovereign ; but the pompous accounts of the total change which he effected in the national manners, seem to have been the mere echos of foreigners, who have never visited the country, and who have collected the history of Peter from the most partial information. For though a nation, when compared with itself at a former period, may have made a rapid progress towards improvement, even when the degree of that improvement, if put in competition with the refinements of other nations, seems scarcely to exist ; yet, as the exaggerated accounts which I had heard and read of the great civilization diffused throughout the whole empire, made me expect

a more polished state of manners than I found, I must own CHAP.
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I was astonished at the barbarism in which the bulk of the people still continue. I am ready to allow that the principal nobles are perfectly civilized, and as refined in their entertainments, mode of living, and social intercourse, as those of other European countries. But there is a wide difference between polishing a nation, and polishing a few individuals. The merchants and peasants still universally retain their beards, their national dress, their original manners; and, what is most remarkable, the greatest part of the merchants and burghers of the large towns, even the citizens of Petersburg and Moscow, resemble, in their external appearance and general mode of living, the inhabitants of the smallest village: and, notwithstanding the rigorous edicts issued by Peter I. * I can venture to assert, that of the 11,500,000 males, which form the population of the Russian empire, at least nine millions wear their beards; being scarcely less attached at present to that custom than their ancestors in former times, when the fine for cutting off a finger was rated at 1s. 3d.; that for cutting off the beard, or whiskers, at 4s. 10d.†.

The greatest part of the peasants, who form the bulk of the nation, are still almost as deficient in the arts as they were before Peter's time, although the sciences have flourished in the capital. But the civilization of a numerous and widely

* " Il ordonna aux Russes de quitter l'habit long et la barbe. Une amende fut imposée aux amateurs obstinés de l'ancien usage. Bien des Russes et surtout les Rozkolniks, regardaient le changement d'habit comme un renoncement à la religion, et disaient qu'il valaient mieux perdre la tête que la barbe: ils furent obligés de payer un droit pour n'être pas rasés, et ils recevaient un jetton qui leur servait de quittance. Souvent à la cour

" on écrivait les vieux boiars, et on leur taillait la barbe d'une manière si ridicule, qu'ils étaient obligés de garder la chambre pendant plusieurs mois, on de se faire raser. On attachait aux portes des villes un modèle du nouvel habit, et on rognait la robe de ceux qui ne voulaient pas payer: " on les rasait malgré eux dans les rues." L'Evesque, IV. p. 157.

† Haygold, I. p. 337.

dispersed

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disperſed people cannot be the work of a moment, and can only be effected by a gradual and almoſt inſenſible progreſs.

If we deſcend from theſe vague and general reflections to a more diſtinct conſideration of the different claſſes of ſubjects in the Ruſſian empire, we ſhall be more eaſily enabled to form ſome probable judgement concerning the preſent ſtate of its civilization.

The inhabitants in general may be divided into four orders: I. that of the nobles and gentry; II. that of the clergy; III. that of merchants, burghers, and other freemen; IV. that of the peaſants. The three firſt include almoſt all the free ſubjects of the empire, and the latter all the vaſſals or ſlaves.

I. The firſt order comprehends the nobles and gentry, the ſole * perſons who, in the true ſpirit of feudal deſpotiſm, have a right to poſſeſs land; but inſtead of appearing according to the tenure of that ſyſtem, themſelves at the head of their retainers, are now only expected to ſerve in the army, and are obliged to furniſh recruits in proportion to the extent of their poſſeſſions.

In Ruſſia, as in the Oriental governments, there is ſcarcely any diſtinction of ranks among the nobility, excepting what is derived from the ſervice of the ſovereign. Even the eldeſt ſons of thoſe perſons, who have been raiſed to the moſt conſiderable honours and the higheſt employments, excepting the advantages which they undoubtedly retain of facilitating their promotion by a ready acceſs to court, do not derive any ſolid benefits from their birth like thoſe which the peers of

* Catharine, in confirming the immunities of the nobles, decreed, "Que le droit d'acheter ou de vendre des terres ſeroit propre ou particulier aux ſeuls nobles." Le Clerc, p. 472. That is in

Ruſſia, ſtrictly ſpeaking, for in the Ukraine and in the provinces conquered from Sweden, Ingria excepted, and in a few other places, the lower orders are proprietors of lands.

England,

England, the grandees of Spain, or the dukes, who are peers of France, enjoy from their hereditary descent. The importance of a noble family of immense property and official honours is almost annihilated upon the death of the chief; because his property is equally divided among his sons; and because titles, though allowed to be hereditary, do not, independent of the sovereign's favour *, contribute much to aggrandize the possessors; that of a prince, a count, or a baron, conveying in themselves little personal distinction, unless accompanied with a civil or military employment.

Before the æra of Peter the Great, the only title in Russia, excepting that of boyar which signified privy-counsellor and was not hereditary, and other similar appellations annexed to civil employments, was that of knaes, which was esteemed synonymous to prince. Persons who assumed this title were descended, or pretended to be so, either from the different collateral branches of the reigning family; or from some Lithuanian princes who established themselves in Russia in the 14th and 15th centuries; or from the numerous Tartar nobles who became subjects of the Russian empire under Ivan Vaffi-

* "A present en Russie, indépendamment des avantages que procurent partout la fortune ou la facilité de s'approcher de la cour, un noble n'est distingué d'un autre que par l'emploi qu'il occupe, et qui lui marque son rang. Les titres, l'ancienneté de la noblesse, l'illustration de ses peres, n'empêchent pas celui à qui son emploi ne donne que le rang de lieutenant d'être, même hors du service militaire, inférieur à un capitaine tiré de la plus nouvelle noblesse, ou même de la classe des affranchis." L'Evesque, v. IV. p. 479.

With respect to the advantages possessed by the children of the nobility, Monsieur Le Clerc informs us, "Catharine II. en confirmant les droits et privilèges que Pierre III. a accordés à la noblesse Russe, y en

"a ajouté quatre autres. 1. Elle a ordonné aux colonels des régimens, dans une instruction particulière, de préférer, dans tous les cas, les nobles à ceux qui ne le sont pas, dans la promotion des grades militaires. 2. Elle a statué que les enfans des nobles, ainsi que ceux des officiers de l'état-major, seroient reçus préférentiellement à tous autres de ses sujets, dans les établissemens d'éducation nationale. 3. Que le droit d'acheter ou de vendre des terres seroit propre et particulier aux seuls nobles. 4. Que les nobles de son empire jouiroient du privilège exclusif d'établir des fabriques pour la distillation de l'eau-de-vie des grains, et de la vendre à la Couronne." P. 472.

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V.

lievitch II. and his immediate successors; or from several Polish, and other foreign families, who settled in this empire. In process of time the number of these princes increased to so considerable a degree, that, according to Lord Whitworth, no less than 300 were common soldiers in prince Menzikof's regiment of dragoons.

Though Peter the Great, in imitation of the other European courts, introduced the titles of count and baron, and his example has been followed by his successors: yet neither these titles nor that of prince above-mentioned have been esteemed a sufficient aggrandizement; because the greatest favourites of the sovereign have been occasionally created by the emperor of Germany princes of the German empire; as prince Menzikof at the request of Peter, and the princes Orlof and Potemkin during the present reign.

According to the system introduced by Peter I. but which has gradually been corrupted as it has receded from its source, every person takes precedence from his military station; he must rise in regular gradation, and, before he can be an officer, must have served as a corporal or serjeant: but this ordinance is easily eluded; as frequently infants are made serjeants and corporals; and it is not necessary to have served even one campaign in order to attain precedence, as it may be conferred by civil offices.

And although the law of Peter I. which compelled each nobleman or gentleman, under pain of degradation, to serve in the army, was abolished by Peter * III. yet its effects still

* The Abbé de Chappe, in a remark upon the abolition of this law by Peter III. is guilty of a ridiculous mistake, when he supposes, that before this decree the nobles were *slaves*. About a week after his accession to the throne Peter went to the senate, and declared, "that he had granted the

"privilege of *freedom* to the nobility." This mistake arose from an omission in his decree, in which the nobles were only *declared free*, without the addition of *to serve, or not to serve, as they thought proper*. See Antidote, p. 148 to 150.

subsist.

x *subſiſt.* No one under the rank of a major, let his fortune CHAP.
V. be ever ſo conſiderable, is permitted to drive more than two horſes; under that of brigadier more than four: a nobleman of the higheſt fortune and diſtinction, who has never been in the army, is not allowed, excepting by the ſpecial permiſſion of the crown, to uſe in the capital a carriage drawn by more than one horſe; while a merchant may have two. There are various methods, however, of procuring military dignity, and the privileges annexed to it. Amongſt others, a chamberlain, for inſtance, to the ſovereign, *ranks* as major-general; the office of a ſecretary in the different departments of government confers the *rank* of an officer; and the contributor of a certain ſum to the foundling hoſpital at Moſcow obtains the *rank* of a lieutenant.

Theſe regulations, and the eaſe with which military *rank* is acquired, has induced a German, ſettled in Ruſſia, to expreſs himſelf with ſome humour in the following manner: “ A nobleman is here nothing; his ſituation in the army
“ alone marks the value of his exiſtence. A phyſician has
“ the *rank* of major, and dares, as a ſtaff-officer, put four
“ horſes to his carriage, while others can only drive two;
“ an apothecary in the imperial ſervice has the *rank* of a cap-
“ tain; his apprentices that of enſigns; and the two ſur-
“ geons of the diſtrict bear the *rank* of lieutenants *.” But however ridiculous theſe promotions may appear, yet they are founded on principles of the ſoundeſt policy: for, as by a decree of Peter the Great, every officer is noble during his life, and the children of a ſtaff-officer are claſſed among the nobility; any inſtitution tending to increaſe the number of this order of men, who alone are entitled to poſſeſs land, cannot fail of being highly beneficial to the ſociety.

* Schloetzer's Briefwechſel for 1781, p. 365.

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Upon their own estates the nobles and gentry are almost uncontrouled, having absolute authority over their vassals, as will be shown when I treat of the peasants.

II. The next order of subjects are the Clergy.

I have already had occasion to mention the origin and suppression of the office of patriarch, who was formerly the head of the Russian clergy. Peter I. finally abolished that dignity in 1719; but instead of formally declaring himself the head of the church, he prudently consigned the chief ecclesiastical authority to a tribunal which he called the sacred synod; but which was in effect rendered absolutely subservient to him by an oath taken by all its members, acknowledging him as their supreme judge. The synod is composed of the sovereign who is president, a vice-president who is generally the metropolitan archbishop, and a number of counsellors and assessors.

The clergy are divided into, 1. regular, and 2. secular; the first are monks, and the latter parish-priests.

1. The principal wealth of the church is centered in the monasteries, which formerly had estates to the amount of £400,000 per annum; and, like the other land-holders, enjoyed uncontrouled authority over their peasants, who were equally bondsmen as on the possessions of the laity. The present empress has annexed these church-lands to the crown; and in return grants annual pensions to the hierarchy, the dignified clergy, and the monks. The archbishops and bishops receive about £1000 or £1200 per annum; and the subordinate ecclesiastics in proportion. Soon after this regulation took place, many of the monasteries were suppressed; and the members in those which were spared were considerably reduced, as well by the prohibition to admit more

more than a certain number, as by limiting the age of novices. CHAP.
V.

The abolition of monasteries must be acknowledged a very beneficial circumstance in most countries; yet there is one evil to be apprehended from it in Russia: they were the only seminaries of education for those persons designed for the sacred function; and the monks are, if I may so express myself, almost the sole proprietors of the learning which subsists among the clergy. But most probably the ill effects which may be expected from the suppression of some convents will be compensated by the better improvement introduced into the administration of those which are continued, and by the schools lately established in various parts of the empire for the education of ecclesiastics.

All the dignitaries of the church are chosen from the order of monks: these are archbishops and bishops, archimandrites or abbots, and igoomens or priors. "The episcopal order in Russia is distinguished by the different titles of metropolitan, archbishop, and bishop. The titles of metropolitan and archbishop are not attached to the see; but are, at present, merely personal distinctions conferred by the sovereign, which give the possessors no additional power, and scarcely any precedence*." The archbishopricks or bishopricks are thirty-three in number. 1. Novgorod. 2. Moscow. 3. Petersburg. 4. Casan. 5. Astracan. 6. Tobolsk. 7. Rostof. 8. Pleskof. 9. Kratitz. 10. Refan. 11. Tver. 12. Slavenik and Kherson. 13. Mohilef. 14. Smolensko. 15. Nishnei-Novogorod. 16. Bielgorod. 17. Susdal. 18. Vologda. 19. Columna. 20. Viatsk. 21. Arch-

* Dr. King on the Greek Church, p. 272.

angel.

BOOK V. angel. 22. Uftyug. 23. Voronetz. 24. Irkutsk. 25. Peref-
 laf. 26. Costroma. 27. Volodimir. 28. Tambof. 29. Olo-
 netz. 30. Sievsk. 31. Kiof. 32. Tchernichef. 33. Pereaslaf.

Russia contains at present 159 monasteries, governed by 58 archimandrites and 99 igoomens; and 67 nunneries superintended by abbeffes. There are 2677 monks, and 1299 nuns. The other priests and ecclesiasticks belonging to the nunneries and cathedrals are 1537*.

2. The Russian parish-priests are called papas, or popes; a word signifying father, and indiscriminately applied in the early ages of christianity to all ecclesiasticks without distinction, until it was confined to the bishop of Rome by an edict of Gregory VII. But though this order was obeyed by the members of the Latin or Roman-catholick church, yet it was not acceded to by those of the Greek communion: and the priests of that persuasion are still distinguished by the appellation of pope.

The parochial clergy, who may and ought to be the most useful members of society, are generally in Russia the very refuse of the people. It is literally true, that many of them cannot even read†, in their own language, the Gospel which they are commissioned to preach; these deliver from memory the service, a chapter of the New Testament, or part of a homily, which they repeat every Friday and Sunday. Nor is it in the least surprizing that some are so illiterate, when we consider the scanty maintenance which they derive from

* According to a list of the religious establishments, printed in the Journal of St. Petersburg in 1776, there were 460 monasteries and 20535 churches. According to Busching, Russia contained 479 convents, and 79 nunneries, without reckoning several small monasteries dependent upon the larger ones; in all which were 7300 monks, and 5300 nuns. Perhaps this was the state be-

fore the suppression of many of them. I have adopted the account by Le Clerc, because he informs us, "Cet etat exact vient de l'imperatrice même." See Hist. An. de la Russ. p. 261.

† This shameful ignorance is certainly less common than formerly; as the bishops are more cautious in ordaining such improper persons.

their

their profession. Beside the surplice fees, which in the CHAP.
VI. poorest benefices amount to £4. per annum, and in the most profitable to but £20, they have only a wooden house, scarcely superior to that of the meanest among their parishioners, and a small portion of land, which they usually cultivate with their own hands. While the highest dignity to which they can ever attain, as long as they continue married, is that of protopope of a cathedral, whose income scarcely exceeds £20 a year. As the parish-priests are undoubtedly the principal sources from which learning and improvement must be generally diffused among the lower class of people; if they, who ought to instruct and enlighten others, are so ignorant; how gross must be the ignorance of their parishioners!

In no instance, perhaps, has the empress contributed more towards civilizing her people, than in instituting various seminaries for the children of priests; in endeavouring to promote among the clergy a zeal for liberal science, and to rouse them from that profound ignorance in which they are plunged*.

The monks are not permitted to marry, while the parish-priests are compelled to take a wife as a preliminary to ordination, as I have remarked on a former occasion†: if their wives happen to die, they may enter into a convent, and become dignitaries of the church. They cannot engage in a second marriage unless they become laymen; neither can

* An instance of her majesty's zeal in this particular fell under my observation. When I visited the press of the Holy Synod at Moscow, three volumes of Sermons were printing in the Russian tongue: they were translations, by the empresses command, from the best English, French, and German authors, of those principally which contained a clear discussion of the moral duties. They were to be distributed among the parochial clergy, who had orders to read them occasionally in the time of divine service.

† See Vol. I. p. 279.

they

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IV.

they continue parish-priests without the express permission of a bishop. The children of the secular clergy are all free: their sons are usually brought up for orders, or employed in the service of the church.

All the clergy wear long beards, and are distinguished from the laity by suffering their hair to stream for a considerable length over their shoulders, without being tied or curled. Their dress is a square bonnet, and a long robe of a black or dark colour, reaching to their ankles: the secular and regular priests use, in some instances, a different habit; and the dignitaries of the church are distinguished by a more costly species of raiment*.

I cannot omit mentioning, that, during the five months we passed at Peterburgh, and the almost constant intercourse in which we were daily engaged with the nobility and gentry, I never once saw in company a single person of the sacred profession. It must be allowed indeed, that the parish-priests are for the most part too low and ignorant to be qualified for admission into genteel societies; while the dignitaries, being a separate order and restrained by several strict regulations, reside chiefly in their palaces within the monasteries; and contract an aversion, perhaps an unfitness, for social intercourse. This general character of the Russian hierarchy does by no means comprehend all the individuals; as some of them with whom I occasionally conversed were men of liberal manners and enlightened understandings†.

III. The third division of Russian subjects comprehends that intermediate class of men between the nobles and pea-

* See prints of the several ecclesiastical dresses in King's State of the Greek Church in Russia.

the tables of the nobility upon days of great ceremony, as on that of St. Alexander Nevski, when I met the archbishop of Rostof at prince Volkonski's. See vol. I. p. 278.

† The dignitaries occasionally dine at

fants,

fants, which is thus defined by the emprefs, in the 16th CHAP.
V.
chapter of her instructions for the new code of laws.

“ Cette classe d’hommes dignes que nous en fassions mention, et dont l’état peut se promettre de grands avantages, quand elle aura reçu une forme stable et qui ait pour but l’encouragement des bonnes mœurs et l’amour de travail, c’est l’état Mitoyen.

“ Cet état composé d’hommes libres n’appartient ni à la classe des nobles, ni à celle des payfans.

“ On doit ranger dans cette classe tous ceux qui, sans être ni gentilhommes ni payfans, s’occupent des arts, des sciences, de la navigation, du commerce, ou exercent des métiers.

“ On doit y placer encore tous ceux, qui nés de parens roturiers, sortiront des ecoles et maisons d’éducation, religieuses ou autres, fondées par nous ou par nos predecesseurs.

“ De même les enfans des officiers et ecrivains de chancellerie. Mais comme ce tiers-etât est susceptible de différents degrés de prerogatives, dont nous ne voulons pas traiter en detail, nous ne ferons que d’ouvrir ici le champ à un plus ample examen *.”

* Instruction, &c. pour le Nouveau Code des Loix, p. 107.

“ This class of men worthy to be mentioned by us, and from whom the state may promise itself great advantages, when it shall have received a stable form, and which has for its end the encouragement of good morals and the love of industry, is the middle state.

“ This state, composed of freemen, belongs neither to the class of nobles nor to that of peasants.

“ All those who, being neither gentlemen nor peasants, follow the arts and sciences,

“ navigation, commerce, or exercise trades, are to be ranked in this class.

“ In this class should be placed all those who, born of plebeian parents, shall have been brought up in schools or places of education, religious or others, founded by us, or by our predecessors.

“ Also the children of officers, and of the secretaries to the chancery. But as this third estate is susceptible of different degrees of privileges, which we do not mean to detail in this place, we shall only here open the way for a more ample examination.”

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Although previous to the reign of Peter the Great, there had been certain bodies of merchants enjoying peculiar privileges which raised them above the condition of peasants; yet these were so few, and their advantages, considering the immense monopolies which were in the hands of the crown and the oppression which they necessarily laboured under from the power of the great, extremely precarious. Peter, who during his travels into foreign countries had perceived the utility and necessity of a third estate for the purposes of commerce, made many regulations with this view, which, though excellent in themselves, yet not being adapted to the state of property in Russia did not in general answer the end proposed. Among the most beneficial of these regulations must be mentioned, that he endowed some free towns with certain privileges, which were afterwards augmented by Elizabeth. But these privileges were confined to Petersburg, Moscow, Astracan, Tver, and a few other great provincial towns; and all the inhabitants, even merchants not excepted, were, in some cases, upon the same footing with the peasants, particularly in two instances, which are considered in this country as indelible marks of servitude: they were subject to the poll-tax, and to be draughted for the army and navy. Her present majesty has exempted the body of merchants from these two odious instances of servitude; has greatly increased the number and immunities of the free towns; and has permitted many of the crown-peasants, and every free man, to enrol himself under stipulated conditions into the class of merchants or burghers, who form the third order of inhabitants now under consideration.

The merchants are distributed into three classes. The first comprehends those who have a capital of £2000; the
6 second

second those who possess £1000; and the third those who are worth £100. CHAP.
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By the 47th article of the celebrated manifesto of Graces, as it is called, which the empress conferred upon her subjects at the conclusion of the Turkish war in 1775, all persons who chuse to enter themselves in any of these classes are exempted from the poll-tax, upon condition of paying annually one per cent. of their capital employed in trade to the crown *. The extent of their capitals, however, is not rigorously inquired into, for it entirely depends upon the merchants to name the ostensible sum which they are supposed to be worth; as a person possessing above £2000 may enrol himself in any of the inferior classes, or even in that of the burghers, if he chuses to pay the poll-tax rather than one per cent. of his capital, and be entitled to no more privileges than they enjoy.

This alteration in the mode of assessing merchants is productive of great advantages both to the crown and to the subject; the former receives, and the latter cheerfully pays one per cent of their capital, as well because they are by that means exempted from the poll-tax, as because they are also entitled to additional immunities. It is also a just impost, as each merchant pays according to his fortune; if his profits

* A literal translation of this remarkable article is here subjoined. "The inhabitants of towns who do not possess a capital of 500 roubles, £100, and merchants declared insolvent, shall be excluded from the body of merchants, and shall be classed among the burghers. On the contrary, all burghers, who by their industry have acquired the sum of 500 roubles, shall be admitted into the body of merchants. This body shall remain divided as before into three classes, in proportion to their capital; they shall pay

"an annual assessment of one per cent. of their capital, which they declare is employed in trade, in consideration whereof they are exempted from the poll-tax. The burghers continue upon the same footing as before."

Also, in the 46th article, "We permit all persons franchised by their lords to chuse the free towns in which they wish to reside, and to enrol themselves either among the merchants or burghers of that town," &c.

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increase, his assessment increases; if they diminish, his contribution proportionably diminishes. With respect to the general interests of the nation, it must be considered as a master-piece of judgement and sound policy. It excites industry by holding up to the people a principle of honour, as well as interest, to be derived from the augmentation of their capital; and it affords an additional security from arbitrary impositions, by pledging the good faith of government in the protection of their property. It is likewise productive of another very essential publick benefit, by creating, as it were, a third estate *, which, as it increases in wealth, in credit, and in importance, must by degrees acquire additional privileges, and gradually rise into consequence and independence.

The burghers form the second division of this order; the term burghers is applied to all inhabitants of free towns, without any reference to their peculiar trade, who declare that they possess a capital less than £100; or who, having that sum, do not chuse to assume the more honourable name of merchants. They possess many privileges superior to the peasants; but are distinguished from the merchants by being still subject to the poll-tax, and to enrolment in the army or navy.

Under this third order must be included all the other free subjects of the empire; namely, those slaves who have received their liberty from their masters, those who have ob-

* Montesquieu observes, that there is no *third estate* in Russia, and that the natives are either nobles or slaves; an assertion which is contradicted by Monf. Le Clerc, who shows that there is undoubtedly, and always has been, in Russia, a certain description of persons neither nobles nor slaves. Hist. Mod. p. 223. But Montesquieu has certainly expressed himself correctly upon an extensive view of the subject, as Le Clerc is right in the detail. For though there

were some subjects neither nobles nor slaves, yet as their number was extremely limited, and as, when Montesquieu wrote, they did not enjoy those privileges which they now possess, they could not be said to constitute a *third estate* according to the sense of that term in other European countries.

The definition of this intermediate order of men by the empress, so late as 1767, sufficiently proves that it had not *une forme stable*.

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tained their dismissal from the army and navy, the members of the academy of arts, and of other similar institutions, orphans from the foundling-hospital, and, lastly, the children of all these freemen. All these persons have permission to settle and carry on trade or commerce in any part of the empire, may enrol themselves among the burghers of any free town ; and, if they have a sufficient capital, are admitted into the order of merchants. By all these wise regulations the number of persons above slaves will gradually increase ; and must in time form a very considerable order of men, as soon as they shall acquire the right of possessing land.

It is a circumstance not unworthy of remark, that the Russian merchants and tradesmen seldom keep any book of accounts, as few of them can either read or write, and are unacquainted with the knowledge of figures. Their manner of reckoning is by a kind of machine with several rows of wires, upon which beads are strung. The beads upon the first row stand for units, those upon the second for tens, upon the third for hundreds, on the fourth for thousands, and in a similar progression. By means of this machine they subtract, multiply, and divide with great exactness. An exception, among a few others, to this general observation should be mentioned : the most honest and intelligent persons of this order are the inhabitants of Archangel and its environs : they are mostly able to write, read, and cast accounts ; and many of them are much employed at Peterburgh by the members of the British factory to superintend their warehouses ; and they have the general character of faithful and industrious servants.

It may, perhaps, be difficult to account for the peculiar circumstances which may have concurred to render the inhabitants

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habitants of the town and environs of Archangel more intelligent than the other Russians, unless the following cause should be thought sufficient. Archangel, from the time of its first discovery by the English in 1554, was, during a considerable period, the great emporium of Russia; many of the inhabitants, therefore, being connected with foreign merchants who required great exactness in all their dealings, were gradually trained to business. By a kind of local enthusiasm and traditional instruction, they have continued to distinguish themselves among their ignorant and less honest countrymen, by applying themselves to understand the common rudiments of arithmetick, and by a diligent and regular discharge of their trust.

IV. The fourth order of subjects comprehends the peasants.

The peasants of Russia, excepting those of Finland and Carelia, the Ukraine, and a few others *, are all serfs or slaves.

* I am not able to ascertain the number and privileges of those peasants who are free. Mons. LeClerc thus enumerates them.

1. "Il y a une classe de sujets naturel, qui ne sont ni nobles ni serfs; on les appelle *odnovorsti*. Ce sont des paysans libres, qui possèdent des terres en propre, qui les cultivent eux-mêmes ou les font cultiver par les autres."

Busching says of these people: "The *odnovorsti*" (which appellation signifies a person who possesses only one house), "are a kind of intermediate subjects" (for they can hardly be called peasants), "between the nobles and slaves. They are independent of the nobility, and have themselves no dependents; but several have, by little and little, purchased peasants, not in their own name, but under those of some nobles. In the reign of Anne a great number of these persons were transplanted towards the boundaries of the Ukraine and Sakamski, and supplied

"a national militia for the defence of the limits. Some dwell upon the banks of the Occa in the government of Moscow; but the greatest part are settled in the governments of Bielgorod and Voronetz." Bus. Erd. Bef. Vol. I. P. I. p. 635.

2. Le Clerc adds, "Il est encore d'autres paysans qui ne fournissent point à l'entretien de la Lande Milice ou des troupes qui gardent les frontières, et qui payent à la Couronne, pour redevances annuelles et par tête, deux roubles soixante dix copecs. Ils sont au nombre de 24,991. Outre ceux-ci, il y en a 532,948, également libres, qui payent une redevance d'un rouble soixante dix copecs, et qui fournissent à l'entretien des troupes." Hist. Mod. de Russie, p. 223.

In another place he says, "Les paysans qui habitent aux environs L'Arkangel, ont des terres en propre, qu'ils peuvent hypothéquer, vendre et léguer." p. 222.

The

slaves. They may be divided into, 1. peasants of the crown; 2. peasants belonging to individuals. CHAP.
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1. The former inhabit the imperial demesnes, and probably comprehend, including those belonging to the church lands which are now annexed to the crown, about the sixth part of the Russian peasants. They are immediately under the jurisdiction of the imperial officers or bailiffs. Although liable to great exactions by the tenure of their subjection from these petty tyrants, yet they are much more secure of their property; and being under the protection of the sovereign, any flagrant instances of oppression are more easily made known and redressed. Many of these vassals in particular districts have been franchised, and permitted to enrol themselves among the merchants and burghers; the whole body will gradually receive more and more privileges, as the spirit of humanity and policy penetrates further into these regions; and as the empress can venture to realize the generous system of diffusing a more equal freedom among the subjects of her vast empire.

2. Peasants belonging to individuals are the private property of the landholders, as much as implements of agriculture, or herds of cattle; and the value of an estate is estimated, as in Poland, by the number of boors, and not by the number of acres. No regulations have, perhaps, tended more to rivet the shackles of slavery in this empire than the two laws of Peter the Great; one which renders the landholder accountable to the crown for the poll-tax of his vassals; and the other which obliges him to furnish a certain number of

The yamshicks, or persons who furnish post-horses, may be reckoned among the freer kind of peasants, as they are exempted from the poll-tax, and from being enlisted. See Vol. I. of this work, p. 242, &c.

To these may be added the peasants of the provinces conquered from Sweden, Ingria excepted, and the cossack peasants of the Ukraine and Siberia.

recruits;

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recruits; for by these means he becomes extremely interested that none of his peasants migrate without permission from the place of their nativity. These circumstances occasion a striking difference in the fate of the Russian and Polish peasants even in favour of the latter, who in other respects are more wretched. If the Polish boor is oppressed, and he escapes to another master, the latter is liable to no pecuniary penalty for harbouring him; but in Russia the person who receives another's vassal is subject to an heavy fine. With respect to his own demands upon his peasants, the lord is restrained by no law either in the exaction of any sum, or in the mode of employing them. He is absolute master of their time and labour: some he employs in agriculture; a few he makes his menial servants, and perhaps without wages; and from others he exacts an annual payment*. Each vassal, therefore, is rated according to the arbitrary will of his master. Some contribute four or five shillings a year; others, who are engaged in traffick or trade, are assessed in proportion to their supposed profits. Several instances of these exactions fell under my observation; a mason who was rated £6. per annum; a smith £12.; and others as high as £20. With regard to any capital which they may have acquired by their industry, it may be seized,

* The empress thus expresses herself on this head.

“ Il n’y a guere de village, qui ne paye
“ ses redevances en argent. Les possesseurs,
“ qui ne voyent jamais ou que très rare-
“ ment leurs villages, imposent chaque tête
“ à un à deux et jusqu’à cinq roubles, sans
“ s’embarrasser comment le payfan s’y pren-
“ dra pour gagner cet argent.

“ Il seroit très nécessaire de prescrire aux
“ possesseurs des Loix qui les obligent à
“ agir avec plus de circonspection dans la
“ maniere dont ils se font payer leurs droits,

“ et à exiger du payfan des redevances qui
“ soient de nature à l’éloigner le moins
“ qu’il sera possible de sa maison et de sa
“ famille. Par ce moyen l’on mettra l’agri-
“ culture en vigueur, et la population aug-
“ mentera dans l’empire.” Instruction, &c.
p. 79.

This custom of obliging the peasants to pay an annual sum in money without their having always sufficient resources to procure that sum, frequently drives the necessitous to the most desperate modes of acquiring it.

and there can be no redress; as, according to the old feudal law, which still exists, a slave cannot institute a process against his master. Hence it occasionally happens that several peasants who have gained a large capital cannot purchase their liberty for any sum, because they are subject, as long as they continue slaves, to be pillaged by their masters. CHAP.
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The mode adopted by many landholders with their peasants reminds me of that formerly practised by the Romans in regard to their slaves. Atticus, we are told, caused a numerous body of slaves to be instructed in the art of copying manuscripts, which he sold at a very high price, and raised by that means a considerable fortune. Upon similar principles some of the Russian nobility send their vassals to Moscow or Petersburg for the purpose of learning various handicraft trades: they either employ them on their own estates, let them out for hire, sell them at an advanced price, or receive from them an annual compensation for the permission of exercising their trade for their own advantage.

In regard to the lord's authority over their persons, according to the ancient laws, he might try them in his own courts of justice, or punish them without any process; he could inflict every species of penalty excepting the knout, order them to be whipped, or confined in dungeons; he might send them to houses of correction, or banish them into Siberia; or, in short, take cognizance of every misdemeanor which was not a publick offence. He had, indeed, no power over their lives; for, if a slave was beat by order of his master, and died within the space of three days, the latter was guilty of murder, unless other reasons could be assigned for his demise. But was not this almost a mockery of justice? for surely a man might be terribly chastised without suffering death within *three days*; and if a vassal died within that space, and his master was a man of consequence, who was

BOOK V. to bring him to justice *? By the new code, this enormous power of the lords is reduced by restrictions more consonant to the humane principles which distinguish all the regulations of the present empress; and the right of inflicting punishment is lodged, where it ever ought to be, in the hands of the publick magistrate. Abuses, however, still subsist; but must, in time, yield to the influence of such salutary institutions.

I am far from asserting, that inhumanity is the general characteristick of the Russian nobility; or that there are not many persons who treat their vassals with the utmost benevolence and justice. I am also well aware, that several peasants are in such a flourishing condition as to have formed very considerable capitals without dread of exaction; and that some even possess landed estates under their masters' name. But if we consider the unhappy pleasure which too many feel in tyrannizing over their inferiors, we have every reason to conclude, that the generality of boors must still be cruelly oppressed. It has been ably observed, by a very judicious writer; that "as much as subjection to a petty prince, whose dominions extend not beyond a single city, is more grievous than obedience to a great monarch, so much is domestick slavery more cruel and oppressive than any civil subjection whatsoever." The same author also adds the following remark, which will equally apply in the present case: "Nor can a more probable reason be imagined for the severe, I might say barbarous, manners of antient times, than the practice of domestick slavery; by which every man of rank was rendered a petty tyrant, and educated amongst the flattery, submission, and low debasement of his slaves †."

* How often must such tyrannies escape the cognizance of the court, and remain unpunished. Sometimes, indeed, a noble is brought to justice. One instance, though related in a former publication, I beg leave to introduce in this place.

"In the prison of Moscow there is a gentleman confined, and he alone is denied the privilege of ever coming from his cell; a punishment which is by no means ade-

quate to his crime, namely, that of ordering several of his peasants to be whipped in so cruel a manner, that they died. This circumstance will show the power which the lords have over their peasants; and will at the same time prove, that such crimes, when discovered, do not always remain unpunished." Account of Prisons, &c. p. 12.

† Hume's Essays, Vol. I. p. 402.

How then can a country be said to be civilized, in which domestic slavery still exists? CHAP.
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The vassals who work for their masters, generally receiving their maintenance or being accommodated with a small portion of land for their own use, always enjoy in sufficient abundance the common necessaries of life, which are so few as to be easily obtained; and usually spend any little money they are able to acquire in clothes or spirituous liquors. Those who, in contradiction to this general rule, save the profits which they may have earned by their labour, or by trade, conceal as much as possible any acquisition of fortune; they seldom change their mode of living, and frequently bury their money in the ground. This custom is one reason, among several others, of the scarcity of silver currency; that being the specie which is chiefly amassed. The practice of hiding money is common in all countries of the East, where property is not well secured; and where the people are in such a state of slavery, that, through dread of repeated exactions, they cannot even venture to use the riches which they have acquired: nevertheless, they are remarkably greedy of gain; and perhaps there are no tradesmen who demand so much for their goods, and will take so little, as the Russians;—a sure proof of continual oppressions.

The peasants are not to be pitied for the want of any little indulgences, which are esteemed in other nations the common necessaries of life; use reconciles them to such deficiencies; but they deserve compassion for their subjection to their masters. The former only makes them hardy, patient, and easily contented; but the latter renders them humble, cringing, obstinate, careless, and in a manner insensible.

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A peasant may obtain his liberty, 1. by manumission, which, upon the death of the master, is frequently granted to those who have served in the capacity of his immediate domesticks; 2. by purchase; 3. by serving in the army or navy; for a peasant is free from the moment of his enrolment, and continues so whenever he obtains his discharge: and in all these cases the empress has facilitated the means of obtaining freedom, by waiving several rights of the crown, which, in some measure, obstructed this acquisition of liberty. Although her majesty cannot alter the fundamental state of property, by conferring upon the peasants, as individuals, any material privileges which might infringe those of the nobles; yet she has not neglected their interests, but has issued several laws in their favour, which have given them some alleviation.

By allowing them to settle in any part of her dominions, and to enrol themselves among the burghers or merchants, according to their respective capitals, she has given a stability to their freedom, and afforded the strongest incitements for the exertions of industry. She has repealed those oppressive laws, which forbade, in certain districts, all peasants to marry without the consent of the governor of the province, or the vayvode of the town, who usually exacted a present from the parties. The empress, by abolishing this tax upon the rights of humanity, has wisely removed, as far as lay in her power, every obstacle to marriage*.

* See 17th of article of the Manifesto at the conclusion of the peace with the Grand Signor.

"In certain districts of our empire it has been hitherto necessary to obtain a permission to marry from the governors of

provinces, or of the vayvodes of towns; and this permission was usually purchased by money or cattle. We abolish this custom; and from this time every person shall be free to marry without obtaining similar permissions."

I was much surprized to find, upon inquiry, that no noble in Russia had franchised his vassals in the same manner as I before mentioned to have been practised in Poland; but I may venture to predict, that the time is not far distant, although an almost general prejudice seems at present to prevail with respect to the incapacity of the peasants for receiving their liberty. And this perhaps may be true in the literal sense as many of them, unless properly instructed, would scarcely be enabled to derive a solid advantage from their freedom, which might be considered by some as an exemption from labour and a permission for licentiousness.

A century ago. perhaps no one in Russia would have ventured to debate the question, Whether the peasants ought to be free? but the science and learning, which are now dawning upon these regions, have already introduced such a spirit of inquiry, that similar subjects are not unfrequently discussed in publick. A remarkable instance, which justifies the truth of this observation, lately occurred: in consequence of a present of a thousand ducats, sent, in 1766, by an anonymous person to the œconomical society at St. Peterburgh, and at the desire of the said person, the society offered a premium of fifty ducats, and a gold medal, value 25 ducats, to the author of the best dissertation on the following question, "Is it most advantageous to the state; that the peasant should possess land, or only personal effects; and to what point should that property be extended for the good of the publick?" One hundred and sixty four dissertations were accordingly delivered by the time appointed; and the prize was given to a Mr. Bearde, doctor in canon and civil law at Aix-la-Chapelle, for a French essay upon this interesting subject in favour of the peasants.

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This treatise afforded me great satisfaction in the perusal; because the author, while he demonstrates the advantages of landed property to the peasant, does not conceal the difficulties which must necessarily occur in realizing an object of such consequence. He is not one of those speculative theorists, who are for hastily changing the fundamental laws of a kingdom; but recommends the legislature to confer upon the peasants a gradual succession of privileges, and to follow the slow, but sure method of instruction and improvement. This and several other essays upon the same subject have been printed at Petersburg; and will certainly tend to excite a candid spirit of inquiry, and to diffuse such principles of benevolence, as cannot fail of being in time productive of some good effects.

The following judicious reflection of Catharine II. perhaps comprehends in a few words the sum of the best arguments which may be advanced on this subject. "L'Agriculture ne
" pourra jamais prosperer là ou l'agriculteur ne possède rien
" en propre *."

From this general review of the various inhabitants of Russia, it may be perceived, that though they are proceeding towards civilization, they are still far removed from that state; that a general improvement cannot take place while the greatest part continue in absolute vassalage; nor can any effectual change be introduced in the national manners, until the people enjoy a full security in their persons and property; for what should encourage them to succeed in any art, when they do not themselves reap the benefits of their labour, but are taxed in proportion to their profits and industry?

* Agriculture can never flourish in that property. Instructions, &c. pour le Nouveau Code de Loix, p. 83.

C H A P. VI.

Academy of sciences.—Its origin and institution.—Transactions.—Members.—Library.—Museum.—Fossil bones of elephants and other animals found in Siberia.—Native copper and iron.—Golden ornaments from several antient sepulchres.—Russian coins.—Waxen figure of Peter the Great.—Celestial globe of Gottorp.—Academy of arts.—Society for the promotion of agriculture.—Corps de cadets.—Couvent des demoiselles nobles.

THE Imperial Academy of Sciences owes its institution to CHAP.
VI. Peter the Great. That great monarch, having during his travels observed the advantage of publick societies for the encouragement and promotion of literature, formed the design of founding an academy of sciences at St. Petersburg. By the advice of Wolf and Leibnitz, whom he consulted on this occasion, the society was regulated, and several learned foreigners were invited to become members. Peter himself drew the plan, and signed it on the 10th of February, 1724, but was prevented, by the suddenness of his death, from carrying it into execution. His decease, however, did not prevent its completion; for on the 21st of December, 1725, Catharine I. established it according to Peter's plan; and on the 27th of the same month the society was first assembled. On the 1st of August, 1726, Catharine honoured the meeting with her presence, when professor Bulfinger, a German naturalist of great eminence, pronounced an oration upon the
advances

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of the longitude *.

The empress settled a fund of £4982† per annum for the support of the academy; and fifteen members, all eminent for their learning and talents, were admitted and pensioned under the title of professors in the various branches of literature and science. The most distinguished of these professors were Nicholas and Daniel Bernoulli, the two De Lilles, Bulfinger and Wolf.

During the short reign of Peter II. the salaries of the members were discontinued, and the academy was utterly neglected by the court; but it was again patronized by the empress Anne, who even added a seminary for the education of youth, under the superintendence of the professors. Both institutions flourished for some time under the direction of baron Korf; but upon his death, towards the latter end of Anne's reign, an ignorant person being appointed president, many of the most able members quitted Russia. At the accession of Elizabeth, new life and vigour were again restored to the academy: the original plan was enlarged and improved; some of the most learned foreigners were again drawn to Petersburg; and, what was considered as a good omen for the literature of Russia, two natives, Lomonosof and Rumovskiy, men of genius and abilities who had prosecuted their studies in foreign universities, were enrolled among its members. The annual income was increased to £10,659‡, and soon afterwards the new institution took place.

The present empress, with her usual zeal for promoting the diffusion of knowledge, has taken this useful society un-

* See Nachricht von der Kays: Acad. "et duodecim rubellorum." Nov. Com. I. &c. in Schmidt Beytrage, p. 35; also Jour. p. 5.
Pet. for June, 1779, p. 383.

† "Summam a Petro Magno constitu-
" tam viginti quatuor millium nongentorum "viginti millia rubellones trecentos et oc-
" taginta sex." Nov. Com. I. p. 6.

der her more immediate protection. She has altered the court of directors greatly to the advantage of the whole body ; she has corrected many abuses, and has infused a new spirit into their researches. By her majesty's particular recommendation, the most ingenious professors have visited the various provinces of her vast dominions ; and as the fund of the academy was not sufficient to supply the whole expence of these several expeditions, the empress bestowed a largess* of £2000, which she has renewed as occasion has required.

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The purpose and intent of these travels will appear from the instructions given by the academy to the several persons who were engaged in them. They were ordered to pursue their inquiries upon the different sorts of earths and waters ; upon the best methods of cultivating the barren and desert spots ; upon the local disorders incident to men and animals, and the most efficacious means of relieving them ; upon the breeding of cattle, and particularly of sheep ; on the rearing of bees and silk worms ; on the different places and objects for fishing and hunting ; on minerals ; on the arts and trades ; and on forming a Flora Russica, or collection of indigenous plants : they were particularly instructed to rectify the longitude and latitude of the principal towns ; to make astronomical, geographical, and meteorological observations ; to trace the course of the rivers ; to take the most exact charts ; and to be very distinct and accurate in remarking and describing the manners and customs of the different people, their dresses, languages, antiquities, traditions, history, religion ; and, in a word, to gain every information which might tend to illustrate the real state of the whole Russian empire.

* Bach. Russ. Bibl. vol. I. p. 50.

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In consequence of these expeditions, perhaps no country can boast within the space of so few years such a number of excellent publications on its internal state, on its natural productions, on its topography, geography, and history; on the manners, customs, and languages of the different people as have issued from the press of the academy of sciences; so that we may fairly assent to the truth of the remark made by an anonymous author upon this subject: "Tous ces
" différens objets ont été superieurement remplis par nos il-
" lustres savans, & l'on n'a pas eû tort d'avancer que jamais
" l'histoire naturelle n'a obtenu tout d'un coup un pareil ac-
" croissement de richesses, fruits inestimables du labeur de
" ces hommes vraiment utiles; & leurs relations sont deve-
" nues un monument à jamais durable de leur zèle de leurs
" rares talens, et de leur infatigable activité *!"

The most remarkable of these distinguished travellers are Pallas, Gmelin, Guldenstaedt†, Georgi, and Lepekin.

The first transactions of this society were published in 1728, and entitled, *Commentarii Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae ad An. 1726*, with a Dedication to Peter II. The publication was continued under this form until the year 1747, when its transactions were called *Novi‡ Commentarii Academiae, &c.* In 1777 the academy again changed the title into *Acta Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitanae*, and likewise made some alteration in the ar-

* "All these different objects have been
" accomplished in the best manner by our
" illustrious philosophers; and it may be
" advanced with truth, that natural history
" never, in so short a time, acquired an
" equal increase of riches, inestimable fruits
" of the labour of those truly useful men;
" and their accounts have become an ever-
" lasting monument of their zeal, of their
" rare talents, and indefatigable activity."
*Hist. des Decouv. par divers savans Voya-
geurs, &c. Introduction.*

† The reader will find an account of Pallas, Gmelin, and Guldenstaedt in the next chapter.

‡ "Hunc autem et sequentes tomos No-
" vorum Commentariorum nomine ideo ve-
" nire quia academia nunc novis legibus in-
" structa est, et classes hic aliter, ac in præ-
" cedentibus tomis fieri solebat, dispositæ
" inveniuntur." *Nov. Com. vol. I. p. 4.*

In this same volume the statutes for the regulation of the society, under its new in-
stitutions, are inserted, p. 9—33.

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 rangement and plan of the work. The papers, which had been hitherto published in the Latin tongue, are now written either in that language or French; and a preface is added, styled *Partie Historique*, which contains an account of its proceedings, meetings, admission of new members, and other remarkable occurrences *. Of the Commentaries fourteen volumes were published; the first of the New Commentaries made its appearance in 1750; and the 20th in 1776. Under the new title of *Acta Academiae*, seven volumes have been given to the publick; and two are to be printed every year. These transactions abound with ingenious and elaborate disquisitions upon various parts of science and natural history, and which reflect the greatest honour upon their authors; and it may not be an exaggeration to assert, that no society in Europe has more distinguished itself for the excellence of its publications, and particularly in the more abstruse parts of the pure and mixed mathematicks.

The academy is still composed, as at first, of fifteen professors, beside the president and director. Each of these professors has a house and an annual stipend from £200 to £600. Beside the professors, there are four adjuncts, who are pensioned, and who are present at the sittings of the society, and succeed to the first vacancies.

When I was at Petersburg this academy was composed of the following members: President †, Count Cyril Gregorievitch Rosomouski. Director, Serge Domashnef. I. Leonhard Euler ‡, professor of mathematicks, admitted

* *Acta Pet.* for 1771, P. I.

† The superintendance of the academy is now consigned to the princess D'Aschkof. That learned princess has proposed the foundation of a society similar to the *Académie Française*: it is to consist of sixty mem-

bers. The plan has been approved by the empress, who has already given a fund for its support and establishment.

‡ This great philosopher died of an apoplexy on the 18th of September, 1783.

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1727. 2. Gerhard Frederick Muller, historiographer, and keeper of the archives at Moscow, 1731. 3. Jacob Staehlin, 1736. 4. Francis Æpinus, 1757. 5. Semen Kotelnikof, in mathematicks, 1757. 6. John Albert Euler, son of the celebrated Euler, in natural philosophy, 1766. 7. Stephen Rumovski, in astronomy, 1763. 8. Gaspar Frederick Wolf, in anatomy, 1767. 9. Peter Simon Pallas, in natural history, 1767. 10. Eric Laxman†, in agriculture, 1770. 11. Alexèy Protassof, in anatomy, 1764. 12. Ivan Lepekin, in natural history, 1771. 13. Wolfgang Ludwig Kraft, in experimental philosophy, 1771. 14. Andrew John Lexel, in astronomy, 1771. 15. Anthony John Guldenstaedt, in natural history, 1771, since deceased.—Adjuncts, 1. Peter Inokodtzof, in astronomy, 1768; appointed in 1779 extraordinary professor. 2. John Gottlieb Georgi, in chymistry, 1775. 3. Nicholas Fufs, in mathematicks, 1775. 4. Michael Golovin, in experimental philosophy, 1775.

This general account of the establishment, progress, and present state of the academy, will be naturally succeeded by a description of the library, the cabinet of natural history, and the other curiosities, which I visited several times during my stay at Peterburgh.

Mr. Bachmeister, the librarian, has justly remarked, in a recent publication †, that war, which in most other countries is unfavourable to the sciences, has tended to promote them in this empire. The library owed its origin to 2500 volumes which Peter the Great seized at Mittau in his Swedish campaign: it was afterwards increased by the bounty of that emperor, and of his successors; and lately enriched by the curious collection of prince Radzivil at Newitz, taken by the Russians, in 1772, during the troubles of Poland.

* Laxman, being promoted, is succeeded by Ferber, the famous Swedish mineralogist.

† Essai sur la bibliotheque, &c. de l'Acad. des Sciences.

Mr.

Mr. Bachmeister informed me, that since this last acquisition, ^{CHAP. VI.} the number of books amounted to about 36,000. The most antient MSS. are the Lives of the Saints, written in 1298, and a Chronicle of Nestor, the earliest historian of this empire. This Chronicle, together with those of Novogorod, Plescof, the Ukraine, Casan, and Astracan, the genealogical tables of the early great-dukes, from Vladimir the Great to the tzar Ivan Vassilievitch, compiled in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and following centuries, convinced me, that Russia is extremely rich, as well in documents relating to its more remote annals, as to those of later times *. They are all written in the Sclavonian tongue. Among the MSS. relating to the history of Russia, must not be omitted 16 volumes in folio, containing an account of the negotiations of Peter's ministers, from 1711 to 1716; as also 30 volumes of the official correspondence of prince Menzikof, from 1703 to 1717: these collections would serve as good materials towards compiling an authentick history of Peter the Great, a work much wanted.

One MS. although of very modern date, is yet highly valued, on account of the august person by whom it was written, and is preserved in an elegant vase of bronze gilt. It contains the empresses instructions to the committee delegated to form a new code of law; instructions drawn up by herself and written with her own hand. This MS. is always placed upon the table, whenever the members of the academy hold a solemn meeting.

Among several books the librarian showed me a volume containing the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles, which is curious, as being the first book printed in Russia†; it bears the date of 1564, and issued from the press established at

* See Chap. VIII.

† Mr. Nichols informs us, that this book was ten years in the press, and that the names

of the first printers were Ivan Hoderson and Peter Timosioffsom. See "The Origin of Printing, 1776," p. 288.

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Moscow. Its paper is certainly of our manufacture, as I plainly discovered the English stamp: and we find in Hackluyt, that paper is mentioned among the first imports which Russia received from England.

This library contains, perhaps, a larger quantity of Chinese books than is to be found in any other collection of Europe. They are classed in port folios, and consist of 2800 separate pieces. An exact catalogue of them has been lately made by Mr. Leontief, who was several years at Pekin; where a Russian church is established, and students are permitted to reside for the purpose of learning the language*. Hitherto we have been indebted almost to the French alone for any probable accounts of the interior state of the Chinese empire. The amicable intercourse, however, which has for some time subsisted between the courts of Petersburg and Pekin, has facilitated the acquisition of Chinese books; and the establishment of a seminary at Pekin has naturally led the Russians to obtain a more general and accurate knowledge of that country. Hence many interesting publications have been lately put forth at Petersburg relative to the laws, history, and geography of China, extracted and translated from the originals published at Pekin.

The various branches of natural history are distributed in different apartments. This museum, which is extremely rich in native productions, has been considerably augmented with a variety of specimens, collected by Pallas, Gmelin, Guldenstaedt, and other learned professors, during their late expeditions through the Russian empire. As it neither falls within my plan, nor is it in my power, to enter into a minute account of all the various specimens; I shall only cursorily mention a few objects which principally engaged my atten-

* See Russian Discoveries, &c. p. 208.

tion. The stuffed animals and birds occupy one apartment. CHAP.
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Among the former I particularly observed the *Equus Hemionus*, a species of wild horse, which bears the appearance of a mule: it resembles an ass in its mane, ears, feet, and tail, and principally in the black streak down its back; in other parts it is like an horse. It is the same which was called by Aristotle the *Hemionos*, found in his days in Syria, and which he celebrates for its amazing swiftness and fecundity; it is denominated by the Mongols *ashiggetei*, which signifies eared; is also known among naturalists by the name of *mulus Dauricus*, because it is found in Dauria, about the rivers Amoor, Onon, and Orgoon. These animals, however, are observed there only in small numbers, detached from the numerous herds, which inhabit the vast deserts of Tartary to the south of the Russian dominions. Their swiftness is proverbial, and is said to exceed even that of the antelope: they are described by the Tartars as very fierce, and so untractable as not to be tamed. Mr. Pallas has favoured the world with an accurate description and engraving of this singular animal in the New Commentaries of the Academy; to which I refer the reader for a more ample description, as well as to Mr. Pennant's account in his History of Quadrupeds. The other animals peculiar to Russia and the adjacent countries, which attracted my notice, are the wild ram, called *Argoli* by the Mongols, by Linnæus *Capra Ammon*, which inhabits the mountainous deserts south of the Lake Baikal; and the *Bos Grunniens* of Linnæus, or grunting ox of Pennant. The latter inhabits Tartary and Thibet, and is mentioned here for the uncommon beauty of its tail, which is full and flowing, of a glossy and silky texture. These tails form a considerable article of exportation from Thibet. The Indians fasten small bundles of the hair to a handle, which they

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they use for fly-flaps; the Chinese dye tufts of it with a beautiful scarlet, with which they decorate their caps; and the Turks employ it as ornaments * to their standards. I observed also the bouquetin, the white-bear, the ermine, the musk-rat, the flying squirrel; among the amphibious animals the sea-horse, whose tush is used instead of ivory; and the sea-otter, greatly prized for its rich and valuable fur. The latter is caught on the coast of Kamtchatka, and in the Aleütian and Fox Islands; and its skin is disposed of to the Chinese at a high price †.

The collection of birds, insects, fish, shells, dried plants, all ranged in the exactest order and after the system of Linnæus, next attracts the observation of the naturalist.

In the cabinet of natural history, I could not avoid being surprized with the number and variety of fossil bones, teeth, and horns, of the elephant, rhinoceros, and buffalo, which have been found in different parts of this empire, but more particularly in the southern regions of Siberia. From the inspection of their astonishing variety, I was led to inquire by what means they could have been found in a country where the animals of which they formerly made a part were never known to exist.

It was the opinion of Peter, who, though he deserves to be esteemed a great monarch, was certainly no great naturalist; that the teeth found near Voronetz were the remains of elephants belonging to the army of Alexander the Great, who, according to some historians, crossed the Don, and advanced as far as Kostinka *.

The celebrated Bayer, whose authority carries greater weight in the literary world, conjectures, that the bones and

* The Europeans erroneously suppose these ornaments to be made from horse-tails.

† See Russian Discoveries, p. 12.

‡ See Russian Discoveries, p. 114, 169, 172, and other parts.

‡ Le Bruyn's Travels, vol. I. p. 63.

teeth found in Siberia belonged to elephants common in that country, during the wars which the Mongol monarchs carried on with the Persians and Indians; and this plausible supposition seems in some measure to be corroborated by the discovery of the entire skeleton of an elephant in one of the Siberian tombs. But this opinion, as Mr. Pallas very justly observes, is sufficiently refuted by the consideration, that the elephants employed in the armies of all India could never have afforded the vast quantities of teeth which have been already discovered, not to mention those which it is justly to be presumed may still be buried *.

The same ingenious naturalist has given an ample description of these fossil bones, and has endeavoured to account for their origin †. Upon examining those in the museum, he was led to conclude; that as these bones are equally dispersed in all the northern regions of Europe, the climate probably was in the earlier ages less severe than at present, and then possibly sufficiently warm to be the native countries of the elephant, rhinoceros, and other quadrupeds, now found only in the southern climates. But when he visited, during his travels, the spots where the fossil bodies were dug up, and could form a judgement from his own observations, and not from the accounts of others; he, with a candour which reflects the highest honour upon his good sense, renounced his former hypothesis; and, in conformity with the opinions of

* Nov. Com. XIII. p. 440.

† Nov. Com. De Ossibus Sibiriae fossilibus. He says, that in no country more fossil bones have been discovered than in Siberia, and that elephants' teeth have been dug up in such plenty, as to make a considerable article of trade. "Nulla tamen unquam regio tot tantaque in hoc genere gravissimarum et antiquissimarum telluris mutationum monumenta prodidit, ac Si-

"biria nostra, cujus subterraneum Ebur, quamquam hodiernum nonnisi casu riparumque ad majora flumina ruinis detegi solet, ea tamen sic quoque copia legitur, ut inter merces indigenas non ultimum obtineat locum, illud praesertim, quod in terris hyperboreis aeterno gelu rigentibus repertum, plane incorruptum et tornatili operi adhuc aptum est."

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many modern philosophers, asserted, that they must have been brought by the waters; and that nothing but a sudden and general inundation, such as the deluge, could have transported them from their native countries in the south, to the regions of the north. In proof of this assertion, he adds, that the bones are generally found separate, as if they had been scattered by the waves, covered with a stratum of mud evidently formed by the waters, and commonly intermixed with the remains of marine plants, and similar substances*; instances of which he himself observed during his progress through Siberia, and which sufficiently prove that these regions of Asia were once overwhelmed with the sea.

Thus far Mr. Pallas, to whose excellent disquisition on the subject I must refer the curious reader: for my own part, I can only add, that I examined the specimens in the museum with that attention which they deserved, and am perfectly satisfied that they are the fossil bones of the animals in question. The most curious of these specimens is the head and foot of a rhinoceros, which were dug up entire in a bank of

* De reliquiis animalium exoticorum per Asiam repertis.

“In plerisque ripis, que fossili ebore offibusque incluserunt, membra animalium plerumque disjecta reperiuntur, quasi a fluctibus agitata, et obruta limo vel glareosis maxime stratis evidentissime undarum effectum et fluctuatione congestis, imo variis sæpe corporum marinorum reliquiis consociata. Hujus momenti in extricanda ossium fossilium historia gravissimi pluribus in locis luculentissima exempla propriis oculis vidi.”

And again, “Ex eodem limoso solo Rhyminus, ubicunque altiores ripas subruit, crebro in conspectum producit elephantum dentes, maxillas, magna artuum ossa, bubalorum immania cum cornibus capita, similesque reliquias, quarum bene magnum numerum per hæc regiones

“profectus miraculi loco apud plebem adfervari vidi, quæque magis integra reliquerat ætas collegi.”

Mr. Pallas, in a recent publication, has described several fossil bones lately dug up in the government of Casan, some whereof were sent to Petersburg in 1779, and deposited in the museum of the academy. The most remarkable of these bones which he enumerates are the following: An elephant's tooth 10 spans $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches in circumference; ditto 5 feet 3 inches in length, and the same in circumference; several bones of elephants of considerable size; a damaged horn of a rhinoceros, 2 feet 4 inches long; a jaw of a rhinoceros, 3 spans and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch long, containing two back teeth, &c. Gericht von Gebel's Nordische Beytrage, vol. I. p. 173.

the

the Vilui, a small river falling into the Lena, in latitude 64, ^{CHAP. VI.} below Yakutsk : the body was found in December 1771 ; and when Mr. Pallas came into those parts the following year, the head and two legs were sent to him by the governor of the province, and by him transmitted to the museum. The skin and hair are very apparent.

The following translation of the account relative to the discovery of this rhinoceros is extracted from Pallas's Travels. I have preferred this extract to the description given in the Commentaries of the academy, as well because the latter is too long to be inserted in this place, as because the German, in which the former is written, is less familiar to the English reader than the Latin, in which the other is composed.

“ This winter the hunters of Yakutsk found, near
 “ the rivulet Vilui, the body of an unknown animal, the
 “ head and two hinder feet whereof were sent to Irkutsk by
 “ Ivan Angunof, vayvode of Vilitzk. In the account of this
 “ discovery, dated the 17th of January, it appears, that in
 “ December, about 26 miles above Vilitzk, the body of an
 “ animal was observed half buried in the sand, about a fath-
 “ om from the water, and four fathom from a steep cliff.
 “ Being measured upon the spot, it was found to be 7 feet 7
 “ inches in length, and in height about 7 feet 6 inches.
 “ The hide was entire, the body appeared of its natural bulk,
 “ but in such a state, that only the head and feet could be
 “ carried away ; one of the latter was sent to Yakutsk, and
 “ the remainder to Irkutsk. Upon inspection, they seemed
 “ to have belonged to a full-grown rhinoceros ; and as the
 “ head was entirely covered with the skin, there could be no
 “ doubt of the fact. On one side the small hairs were still
 “ perfect. The exterior organization was well preserved,
 “ and the eye-lids were not entirely corrupted. Here and

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“ there under the skin, and the bones, and also in the hollow
 “ part of the skull, was found a slimy substance, the remains
 “ of the putrid flesh ; and upon the feet, beside the slime,
 “ parts of the tendons and sinews were observed. Both the
 “ horn, and the hoofs were wanting ; but the hollow in
 “ which the horn had been set and the edge of the skin
 “ which encircled its base being apparent, and the cloven
 “ separation of the hoofs being visible, afforded undoubted
 “ proof that the animal was a rhinoceros. Having given in
 “ the Commentaries of the Academy of Sciences, a particu-
 “ lar description of this extraordinary discovery, I will not
 “ repeat what I have there advanced concerning the causes
 “ which might have brought this rhinoceros into these
 “ northern regions, and have dispersed the other remains of
 “ exotick animals through Siberia. I shall here only men-
 “ tion a few circumstances, which I obtained from Argunof,
 “ relative to the place where the remains of the rhinoceros
 “ were discovered ; and shall add a few conjectures upon
 “ the possibility of their preservation during so long a
 “ period.

“ The country about the Vilui is mountainous, and the
 “ mountains consist of strata, partly of sand and lime stone,
 “ and partly of clay mixed with many pebbles. The body
 “ was found in a hill, composed of sand and pebbles, about
 “ fifteen fathoms high ; it was buried deep in a coarse gra-
 “ velly sand, and was preserved by the frost, as the ground
 “ in that part is never thawed at any considerable depth.
 “ The warmest and most exposed places are thawed about
 “ two ells deep by the sun ; but the lower parts, which are
 “ formed of clay and sand, are, even at the end of summer,
 “ frozen at no more than half an ell below the surface.
 “ Without this circumstance, it would have been impossible
 “ that

“ that the skin and other parts of this quadruped should have
 “ been preserved for so long a time: for we cannot assign the
 “ quick transportation of this animal, from its native country
 “ in the south, to these cold regions, to a later period, or to a
 “ less important cause, than to the deluge; as the most an-
 “ tient histories of mankind make no mention of any later
 “ revolution of this globe, which could, with equal probabi-
 “ lity, have buried these remains of the rhinoceros, as well
 “ as the bones of the elephants that are scattered through-
 “ out Siberia*.”

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The variety of ores collected from the numerous mines of the Russian empire, highly deserves the attention of the mineralogist. In speaking of this collection, I shall confine myself to two specimens very interesting to naturalists, namely, native copper, and a large mass of native iron. The former was brought from a small island lying close to Beer- ing's Island, within sight of the coast of Kamtchatka, which takes its name of Mednoi Ostrof, or Copper Island, from the masses of native copper, that are not unfrequently found upon the beach.

The specimen of native iron is part of a most remarkable mass, consisting of that metal in its pure state, blended with glass-like matter †: it is in every respect perfect, malleable, and capable of being forged into any form, susceptible of rust, in a word, partaking of all the undoubted qualities of iron. The mass was discovered in Siberia by Mr. Pallas, who, at my desire, favoured me with a description in French, and, as it helps to elucidate the account sent to the Royal So-

* Pallas Reise, Part III. p. 97.

† It appears, by Mr. Meyer's Analysis of this mineral, that the glass-like matter consists of eight parts of ferruginous earth, 27 of silicious earth, and 25 of the earth of

magnesia. See Meyer's "Versuche mit
 "der von dem Hrn Prof. Pallas in Sibe-
 "rien gefundenen Eisenstufe;" in Bef-
 "chaeftigungem der Berlin. Gesellschaft.
 Vol. III. p. 405.

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ciety by the same author, I shall here insert a translation. Let me only remark, that I repeatedly examined the specimen, and found its real state to be exactly described. I expressly mention these circumstances, as some persons have doubted the existence of this block of native iron, and as I am always anxious, whenever I have it in my power, to ascertain the truth of every relation which I give to the publick.

“ This mass, which exhibits the first instance of native
“ iron ever found in a perfect state of malleability, was discovered upon an eminence opposite to Mount Memis, near
“ the Eastern bank of the Yenisei, between the rivulets Oberi
“ and Sifim, which fall into that river above the town of
“ Krasnoyarsk: it was a separate mass, which seemed to have
“ been detached, by lapse of time, from the mountain upon
“ which it rested; and what is very remarkable, the chain
“ of mountains, among which it was found, do not afford
“ the least traces of any volcano, any remains of forges or
“ antient mines, or in any other part the smallest appearances of native iron. Within about 374 yards of the
“ spot where the mass was observed, is a rich vein of a bluish
“ magnetick ore; which, being visited by the Russian
“ miners, first led to the discovery of the insulated mass.

“ The mass, in its original state, weighed 1440 English
“ pounds, and was incrustated in most parts with a thick coat
“ of blackish iron ore: The inside consists of pure malleable iron, divided by irregular cavities, which are filled
“ with a vitrified transparent substance, yellow for the most
“ part, but black in a few places, especially near the surface,
“ and blended here and there with ocre.

“ Those who have never seen any parts of this mass may
“ be disposed to conclude that it must have been the effect of
“ art;

“art; but they who examine it with attention must
 “be of opinion, that it was entirely natural, although they
 “cannot account for the mode of its production. CHAP.
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The anatomical cabinet is highly esteemed from its having been prepared by Ruysch, a celebrated anatomist of the Hague, who sold it in 1717, to Peter the Great, for 30,000 florins *. This collection is particularly celebrated for the regular succession of fœtuses in spirits from the earliest period of conception to the birth of the infant; and for the injections of the brain and eye. The membranes of the eye are so fine and tender, that it requires infinite care to inject them; and Ruysch, of all others, succeeded best in this difficult operation. He supposed that he had discovered a new membrane in the choroides of the eye, which is from him called Ruyischian: in order to ascertain this discovery, he spared neither pains nor expence; and although, in the opinion of the most able anatomists, he may not have succeeded in his attempts to prove the existence of this new membrane †, yet his labours must be esteemed of great use, and his injections of the finer vessels of the eye are justly admired for their superior delicacy.

I hasten to the chamber of rarities, in which, among the most conspicuous curiosities, must be mentioned the ornaments found in the tombs of Siberia, many of which are of great ‡ value, being of massive gold, and of very elegant work-

* About £3000.

† He affirmed, that he divided the choroides into two membranes; but it is now the received opinion, that he only split the same membrane into two parts.

‡ The quantity of gold found in these tombs is scarcely credible; one which was opened in the neighbourhood of the Irtysh is thus described in the *Archæologia*:

“After removing a very deep covering
 “of earth and stones, the workmen came
 “to three vaults constructed of stones of
 “rude workmanship; a view of which is
 “exhibited in the annexed plate.

“That wherein the prince was deposited,
 “which was in the centre, and the largest
 “of the three was easily distinguished by
 “the sword, spear, bow, quiver, and arrow,
 “which

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workmanship. These ornaments consist of bracelets, some of which weigh a pound; of collars in the shape of serpents; of vases, crowns, bucklers, rings, figures of animals richly carved in gold and silver, sabres with golden hilts, ornamented with precious stones; Tartar idols, and other antiquities. The surprizing quantity of golden ornaments, were they not evident to sight, would exceed all belief; but having been in fact, discovered in the manner represented, it is certain that the people whose relicks were interred in these places must have been very rich. How then are we to account for a civilized nation, capable of these artificial productions, formerly existing upon the banks of the Irtysh, the Tobol, and the Yeniseï? Mr. Muller, who has made researches upon the subject, and who, during his travels through Siberia, examined many of the spots where the tombs were opened, advances the following probable conjectures concerning the people to whom they belonged; and from him all subsequent authors, who have written upon this point, have drawn their conclusions *.

After describing the different species of tombs observed in the southern parts of Siberia, he adds, "that as in several of

"which lay beside him. In the vault beyond him, towards which his feet lay, were his horse, bridle, saddle, and stirrups. The body of the prince lay in a reclining posture, upon a sheet of pure gold, extending from head to foot: and another sheet of gold of the like dimensions were spread over him. He was wrapped in a rich mantle, bordered with gold, and studded with rubies and emeralds. His head, neck, breast, and arms naked, and without any ornament.

"In the lesser vault lay the princess, distinguished by her female ornaments. She was placed reclining against the walls, with a gold chain of many links, set with rubies, round her neck, and gold brace-

lets round her arms. The head, breast, and arms were naked. The body was covered with a rich robe, but without any border of gold or jewels, and was laid on a sheet of fine gold, and covered over with another. The four sheets of gold weighed 40 pounds. The robes of both looked fair and complete; but, upon touching, crumbled into dust."

Demidof's account of certain Tartarian Antiquities, in the *Archæologia*, Vol. II. p. 223, 224.

* See Mr. Muller's excellent *Treatise Von den Altern Graebem in Siberia* in Haygold, vol. II. p. 155. also in the *Journal of St. Pet.* for 1779.

"these

“ these burial places the bones of men, women, and horses, CHAP.
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 “ have been found with javelins, bows and arrows, and other
 “ weapons; it seems evident, that the same antient supersti-
 “ tion, which still reigns in India, was formerly prevalent in
 “ those parts, namely, that the departed souls follow the
 “ same kind of life in a future state which they pursued in
 “ this world *. For this purpose, at the demise of a person
 “ of distinction, his favourite wife, his servants, the horses
 “ upon which he was accustomed to ride, were sacrificed at
 “ his tomb, and buried with him; and for the same reason
 “ his arms, dress, and other accoutrements, were also in-
 “ terred: hence the Indian wives, to this day, throw them-
 “ selves upon the funeral pile of their husbands.” And
 Mr. Muller observes, that, upon inspecting the antient ar-
 chives of Yakutsk, he found the same custom obtained among
 the inhabitants when the Russians first made the conquest
 of those parts; and that the only effectual method of putting
 a stop to such proceedings, was by punishing all those as
 murderers who sacrificed the wives and servants of the de-
 ceased.

Having thus accounted for the quantity of gold and silver ornaments found in these tombs, he next endeavours to point out the particular people to whom these burial places belonged; and he is equally judicious in the solution of this difficult inquiry. He begins by asserting, that the richest of these burial places were made in the time of Zinghis Khan and his immediate successors. The most valuable tombs being found near the banks of the Volga, the Tobol, and the Irtysh; the next in value in the deserts of the Yenisei; and

* Or, as the poet has elegantly expressed
 it: — Quæ gratia currum
 Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes
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Pascere equos; eadem sequitur tellure
 repostos.

Æneid. lib. VI. 653.

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the poorest in the countries bordering upon the Lake Baikal; he supposes them all to have been the work of the Mongol Hordes at different periods, who inhabited, at various times, the districts in which the burial places at present exist. He grounds his proof upon the following circumstances: Zinghis, or Tchinghis Khan, laid the foundation of his vast power in the beginning of the 13th century. The roving hordes of Mongols, who were first under his dominion, inhabited the countries about the rivers Selenga, Tola, Orkon, and Anon, stretching from the river Amoor to the Mongol Desert, which leads to the wall of China. These hordes were at that time a poor tribe, and hence the tombs which are found in those parts are very scantily provided with rich accoutrements, and ornaments of any value.

Zinghis had no sooner brought the Mongols under his subjection, than he turned his arms to different quarters. With the aid of these warlike tribes, he and his immediate successors conquered great part of China, independent Tartary, Persia, and the regions as far as the Black Sea, and held for some years almost all Russia under their yoke. The plunder of such vast countries centered for the most part in the settlement of the chief Khan, acknowledged by all the feudal princes as the head of that extensive empire; which, upon the death of Zinghis Khan, was divided into many independent principalities. This settlement was about the middle of the 13th century, not far from the banks of the Irtysh, as appears from the travels of the missionary Rubruquis, who, in his way to the court of the Khan Magnu, describes the last river he crossed to be the Yaik; and as he never mentions the Irtysh, it is probable that the seat of the court was situated between those two rivers; and accordingly we find, in corroboration of this supposition,

position, that the richest sepulchres are discovered in the parts
between the Yaik and the Irtysh.

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Towards the beginning of the 15th century, the empire of the Mongols fell to pieces; and therefore there seems no other period, but the 13th and 14th centuries, in which they could have collected such an immense booty as the ornaments found in these tombs seem to indicate.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that many of these ornaments are executed with such taste and elegance, as is hardly to be accounted for from the state of the arts at that time in the East: and indeed they were undoubtedly the work of Europeans, whom the liberality of Zinghis Khan and his successors drew to their courts; for Rubruquis met at the court of Magnu William Boucher, a French goldsmith, employed by the Khan.

Mr. Muller, with his usual candour, allows one exception to his general assertion, that all the tombs of Siberia, in which arms and ornaments were interred with the deceased, were the burial places of the Mongols; and he describes a few which seem of a far more antient date, and contain copper arms, utensils, and ornaments. These relicks are now preserved in the chamber of rarities, and I examined them with great attention. The knives, spears, and swords, being uniformly of copper, seem to prove, that the people who were buried in these parts were not acquainted with the use of iron; and therefore must have been of very high antiquity, and far anterior to the Mongol hordes.

Mr. Muller, who has investigated all these subjects with a wonderful spirit of inquiry, supposes these people to have been the Igurs, or Uigurs*, from whom Zinghis Khan, as

* Or Hangarians, the ancestors of the necklaces found in these tombs resembles present Hungarians, who, in remote times, those still used in Hungary. Essai Bib. p. inhabited parts of Siberia. One of the 176.

BOOK V. his own subjects the Mongols were entirely without the use of letters, is said to have adopted the alphabet and the art of writing. But he gives this merely as a conjecture, and admits the uncertainty of settling decisively to what people these copper arms and ornaments belonged, or at what period they were buried.

A long gallery contains the various dresses of the inhabitants in the Russian empire, and of many eastern nations: among which the Chinese are the most considerable. One apartment is filled with the dresses, arms, and implements brought from the new discovered islands between Asia and America, and from the parts of the continent which have been visited by the Russian vessels. Some of these specimens are the same which are mentioned in the Journals of the Russian Voyages, namely, caps beautifully adorned with long streamers of hair like the antient helmets; clothes made with the skins of sea-otters, of rein-deer, and of birds painted red, and ornamented with fringes of leather, hair, or sinews; also wooden masks, representing the heads of large fish and sea-animals, which the inhabitants occasionally wear at festivals *.

In this gallery are various idols, which Mr. Pallas procured from the Calmuc or Mongol hordes roving in Siberia, many of whom are still plunged in a state of the grossest idolatry, and follow the religion of the Dalai Lama. Some of these deities are delineated upon canvas; others are of clay, painted or gilded; and a few are of bronze, chiefly procured from Thibet. They are mostly grotesque figures, with many hands and arms, and sitting cross legged; and are similar to those worshiped by many sects in the East; they are hollow, and generally filled with relicks and sen-

* See Russian Discoveries, p. 114, 169, 172, and other parts.

tences of prayers. Engravings of the most remarkable idols are given in Pallas's Travels. CHAP.
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I paid great attention to the collection of Russian coins, which throw a considerable light upon the early history of this country. The most antient substitutes for money, which passed among the natives, were small pieces of leather, or of martens' skin; but in their dealings with foreigners, the Russians, like the Chinese at present, used to exchange their merchandize for gold and silver in bullion. The precise time in which the art of coining began to be practised in Russia is unknown; but it was most probably derived from the Tartars. The coins* are ranged into nine classes.

1. The first contains those that are without inscriptions; these, which are undoubtedly the most antient, exhibit in one or two instances an human figure on horseback wielding a sword; but are for the most part stamped with the rude representations of certain animals, and which, according to the ingenious conjecture of a Russian historian† denote their Tartarian origin in the following manner.

The cycle or period of computation employed by the Tartars, was similar to that still used by the Chinese and Mongols, and contained twelve years; each whereof was successively marked by the following animals: 1. a mouse; 2. an ox; 3. a tiger; 4. a hare; 5. a crocodile, and sometimes a dragon; 6. a serpent; 7. a horse; 8. a lamb; 9. an ape; 10. a hen; 11. a dog; 12. a hog. Of these all but the crocodile, the ape, and the hare, appear upon

* Mons. Le Clerc has lately favoured the publick with a very curious account of the Numismatick History of Russia, which he has rendered extremely valuable by engravings of 177 of the most antient coins.

See Hist. de la Russ. Anc. Vol. II. p. 527 to 549.

† Sherebatof in Journ. St. Pet. for 1781, Part II. p. 15.

BOOK V. the coins; and perhaps the Tartars who over-ran Russia used, instead of them, the swan, the harpy, and the firen, whose representations are occasionally observed. The coins which are impressed with the figures above-mentioned were probably struck in the corresponding years of the cycle. The same historian also advances, that the annual tribute paid by the Russians to the Tartars was marked by the animals which denote the particular year of the cycle; and, as in some coins two of these animals are represented at the same time, probably the tribute of two years was delivered at once: he supports this conjecture with great appearance of argument.

2. Coins with a Tartar inscription exhibit images of men on foot, or on horseback, holding in their hands a sabre, a lance, and a falcon; also of griffins, goats, fowls, and swans.

3. Coins that have jointly both Tartar and Russian inscriptions.

4. Coins with only Russian characters without date; and as the name of the prince in whose reign they were struck is not expressed, their age cannot be determined.

We may remark upon the three last classes, that from the time the coin bore any inscription, the characters were sometimes Tartar, sometimes Russian, and sometimes both, as the sovereigns of this empire were more or less subject to the Tartar yoke.

5. The coins of the great-dukes, beginning from Vassili Demitrievitch, and ending with those of Vassili Ivanovitch. The year in which the great-duke first struck money at Moscow is not ascertained; but from the Russian inscription upon the most antient pieces of this class, *Knaes Veliki Vassili*, the great-duke Vassili, probably about the year 1424, when Vassili Demitrievitch obtained a complete victory

tory over Kundal, khan of the Tartars. The year before the death of Ivan Vassilievitch I. a coin was struck by Aristotle of Bologna, who, among other foreign artists, was drawn by that prince to Moscow. CHAP.
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6. The coins of the princes of the blood who held independent principalities, namely, those of Galitz, Svenigorod, Moshaïsk, Bielosero, Susdal, Refan, Tver, &c.

7. Those of the principal towns, which had the right of coining, namely, Novogorod, Plescof, Moscow, Tver, &c. The most ancient are those of Novogorod, in which city the Tartar money had no currency, as the commercial intercourse with foreign nations had introduced the Lithuanian and Swedish species.

8. The coins from the tzar Ivan Vassilievitch II. to the majority of Peter the Great. The first gold piece was made in the reign of Ivan, and the impression was at the same time greatly improved. Upon some of these pieces I observed on one side the spread-eagle and an unicorn; and on the reverse the spread-eagle, with a St. George and the dragon on its breast. The first introduction of the spread-eagle is supposed to be owing to the marriage of Ivan Vassilievitch I. with the Greek princess Sophia; in whose right he is said to have founded pretensions to the Greek empire, and to have borne that device upon his arms. But we have no proof of the fact, either from the coins of this monarch, or from the accounts of Herberstein and Possevinus; and Ivan Vassilievitch II. was undoubtedly the first prince under whom the device of the spread-eagle was stamped upon the coin; but history is silent on what occasion it was assumed. The first rouble, which before was only used like our pound sterling in computing, was coined by Alexèy Michaelovitch. In this class are three coins remarkable in the history of the empire:

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empire: the first is a Russian ducat, having the heads of the two tzars Ivan and Peter Alexievitch on one side; and on the other that of their sister Sophia, with the crown, sceptre, and royal robes. The others are two coins of Ivan and Peter, which baffle the conjectures of historians: they bear no date; and as these princes were both joint-sovereigns, no antiquarian has been as yet able to account for their separate representation, when the money, during their reign, was, excepting in this instance, uniformly impressed with both their heads.

9. The last class comprises all the money issued by Peter and his successors: upon comparing these with the preceding ones, it is evident to the commonest observer, how greatly the die was corrected by Peter the Great upon his return from his travels, and that since his time it has not been in the least improved*.

The cabinet is rich in Eastern coins; containing, among others, an ample collection of those of the caliphs of Arabia, Samarcand; those of the khans of Bulgaria, of Crim Tary, of Asof; and of the Mongol tribe, called by the Russians the Golden Horde. Among the Indian pieces are the twelve roupees, representing the twelve signs of the Zodiac, of Queen Nourmahall, whose history, related in the Travels of Tavernier†, has more the air of an Eastern tale than of a true narrative. These roupees are so extremely rare, that the original possessor of this cabinet is said to have purchased them for a thousand crowns‡.

In an adjoining apartment, I was struck with a waxen figure of Peter the Great, as large as life, sitting in an armed

* See Essai sur la Bib. p. 245. Versuch ueber die alten Russischen Muentzen. Journ. St. Pet. 1781.

† Tavernier's Travels, Part II. p. 10.

‡ Backmeister Essai sur la Bib. p. 254.

chair.

chair. The features bear the most exact resemblance to the original, because they were taken from a mould applied to his face when dead, and coloured in imitation of his real complexion. The eye-brows and hair are black, the eyes dark, the complexion swarthy, the aspect ferocious, and the head inclined to one side according to his usual custom; he was very tall, and, upon measuring the figure, as well as the attitude would permit, the height was above six feet. It is clothed in the only full dress which that emperor ever wore, and is the same which he had on when, with his own hand, he placed the crown upon the head of his beloved Catharine. It is a suit of blue silk richly embroidered with silver; the stockings are of flesh-coloured silk, with silver clocks. I must own I should have received more satisfaction in contemplating this great monarch's image, if it had been dressed in the plain blue uniform, and brass-hilted sword, which are preserved in the same room, and were worn by him at the battle of Pultava: near them is preserved the hat used on the same occasion, which was pierced near the crown by a musket ball. This apartment contains also his trowsers, worsted stockings, shoes, and cap, which he wore at Sardam, when he worked in the dock-yard in the character of Master Peter. The Academy of Sciences have paid the greatest respect to the memory of their illustrious founder, by preserving in their museum the horse which he rode at the battle of Pultava, two favourite dogs, his turning-lathe and tools, and several specimens of his workmanship; an iron bar, on which is the following inscription, "1724, Thursday, Feb. 21, His Majesty Peter I. being at Olonetz, forged this bar with his own hand." I must not omit three goblets of silver, presented to the same monarch upon the launching of three ships of the line, which had been constructed under

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V. his immediate direction. One of these goblets, containing 65 medals of the French kings, was the gift of the empress Catharine, who equally availed herself of her husband's virtues and foibles to win upon his affections. Another article, which engaged my attention, was the model of a vessel of 120 guns, given by William III. to Peter I. during his residence in England. The emperor, who had received many marks of the king's attention and friendship, presented him at parting with a diamond of great value, wrapped in a piece of common brown paper: no bad emblem of himself or his nation, whose virtues and abilities were yet under a coarse cover.

Before I close this account of the Academy of Sciences, I must mention the Celestial Sphere, known by the name of the Globe of Gottorp, now placed in a detached building, in order to preserve it from fire. It is a large concave sphere, eleven feet in diameter, containing a table and seats for twelve persons. The inside represents the visible surface of the heavens: the stars and constellations are distinguished, according to their respective magnitudes, by gilded nails. It is set to the meridian of Petersburg; and, being turned by means of a curious piece of mechanism, exhibits the true position of the stars, their rising and setting. The outside is a terrestrial globe. This machine is called the Globe of Gottorp, from the original one of that name; which, at the expence of Frederic III. duke of Holstein, was erected at Gottorp, by Andrew Bush, under the direction of Adam Olearius*. It was planned after a design found among the papers of the celebrated Tycho Brahe, and was presented by Frederic IV. king of Denmark to Peter the Great, who saw it in 1713, and expressed much satisfaction at its curious structure and mechanism. The carriage of so cumbrous a machine

* Busching Erdbeschreibung, article Gottorp. Acta Pet. for 1777, Part II. p. 7.

from Gottorp to Peterburgh was attended with great expence and labour. It was conducted over the snow upon rollers and sledges to Riga, the forests being in many parts cleared; and from Riga it was sent by sea to the new metropolis *. This sphere was afterwards erected in the building of the Academy of Sciences, and was burnt in 1747. From the iron plates or carcase which remained, the present globe was constructed, with considerable additions, and placed in 1751 in its present position. It is exactly of the same size with the original, and is far preferable, because all the modern improvements in geography and astronomy have been added. The meridian and horizon were formed by Scott, an English mechanick.

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Travellers are too apt, in describing foreign countries, to overlook their own, and to represent many objects as extraordinary and peculiar, which may sometimes be found in greater perfection at home. In order to avoid the imputation of this partial proceeding, I shall here add, that this astronomical machine is far inferior in size to one of the same kind erected at Pembroke College in the university of Cambridge, by the late Dr. Long, master of that society, which is thus described by the doctor himself †.

“ I have, in a room lately built in Pembroke-Hall, erected a sphere of
 “ 18 feet diameter, wherein above 30 persons may sit conveniently; the
 “ entrance into it is over the south pole by six steps: the frame of the sphere
 “ consists of a number of iron meridians, not complete semi-circles, the
 “ northern ends of which are screwed to a large round plate of brass, with
 “ an hole in the centre of it; through this hole, from a beam in the cieling,
 “ comes the north pole, a round iron rod, about three inches long, and sup-
 “ ports the upper parts of the sphere to its proper elevation for the latitude
 “ of Cambridge; the lower part of the sphere, so much of it as is invisible
 “ in England, is cut off; and the lower or southern ends of the meridians,

* Motraye's Travels.

† Long's Astronomy, vol. II. Introduction.

BOOK V. "or truncated semi-circles, terminate on, and are screwed down to a strong
 "circle of oak, of about thirteen feet diameter, which, when the sphere is put
 "into motion, runs upon large rollers of lignum vitæ, in the manner that
 "the tops of some wind-mills are made to turn round. Upon the iron me-
 "ridians is fixed a zodiac of tin painted blue, whereon the ecliptic and helio-
 "centric orbits of the planets are drawn, and the constellations and stars
 "traced: the great and little Bear and Draco are already painted in their
 "places round the north pole; the rest of the constellations are proposed to
 "follow: the whole is turned round with a small winch, with as little labour
 "as it takes to wind up a jack, though the weight of the iron, tin, and
 "wooden circle, is about a thousand pounds. When it is made use of, a
 "planetarium will be placed in the middle thereof. The whole, with the
 "floor, is well supported by a frame of large timber."

Thus far Dr. Long before this curious piece of mechanism was perfected. Since the above was written, the sphere has been completely finished; all the constellations and stars of the northern hemisphere, visible at Cambridge, are painted in their proper places upon plates of iron joined together, which form one concave surface.

The Academy of Arts was established by the empress Elizabeth, at the suggestion of count Shuvalof, and annexed to the Academy of Sciences: the fund was £4000. per annum, and the foundation for 40 scholars. The present empress has formed it into a separate institution, enlarged the annual revenue to £12,000. and augmented the number of scholars to 300; she has also constructed, for the use and accommodation of the members, a large circular building, which fronts the Neva. The scholars are admitted at the age of six, and continue until they have attained that of eighteen: they are clothed, fed, and lodged, at the expence of the crown. They are all instructed in reading and writing, arithmetick, the French and German languages, and drawing. At the age of fourteen they are at liberty to chuse any of the following
 arts,

arts, divided into four classes. 1. Painting in all its branches of history, portraits, battles, and landscapes; architecture; Mosaick; enamelling; &c. 2. Engraving on copper-plates, seal-cutting, &c. 3. Carving in wood, ivory, and amber. 4. Watch-making, turning, instrument making, casting statues in bronze and other metals, imitating gems and medals in paste and other compositions, gilding, and varnishing. Prizes are annually distributed to those who excel in any particular art; and from those who have obtained four prizes, twelve are selected, who are sent abroad at the charge of the empress. A certain sum is paid to defray their travelling expences; and when they are settled in any town, they receive an annual salary of £60, which is continued during four years. CHAP.
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There is a small assortment of paintings for the use of the scholars; and those who have made great progress are permitted to copy the pictures in the empresses collection. For the purpose of design, there are models in plaister of the best antique statues in Italy, all done at Rome, of the same size with the originals, which the artists of the academy were employed to cast in bronze. We observed several finished pieces of drawing, painting, and sculpture, which had much merit, and seemed to predict the future improvement of the arts in Russia.

Though this institution is indeed admirably calculated for promoting the liberal arts, and is deserving of the highest encomiums, we must not be surprized upon considering the small effects which have hitherto flowed from such a liberal endowment. The scholars, for the most part, make a considerable progress during the time they remain in the academy, and many improve themselves abroad. It is remarkable, however, that

BOOK V. the persons of the greatest merit often settle in other countries; or, if they return, soon sink into an indolence, which appears almost national. The cause of this failure seems to proceed from the little encouragement they receive from the nation in general. The sovereign may rear artists, like foreign plants, at a prodigious expence, and by constant cultivation; but unless the same care is continued when they are brought to maturity, they will sicken by neglect; and it is impossible, even for a monarch, however inclined to protect and encourage merit, or for a few of the nobility who are pleased to follow such an illustrious example, to diffuse a love for the works of art among a people, who must, before they can judge or be pleased with them, imbibe a degree of taste which can only be acquired by experience: and if those who are eminent are not in some measure distinguished, they cannot feel that noble spirit of improvement and emulation which excites to excellence; nor, unless they are employed, can they subsist by their profession. The case is, that the Russians are by no means deficient in genius; but, as there is not yet that general zeal for the pursuit and cultivation of the arts which has taken place in other European countries; they have not sufficient motives to animate and encourage a continuance of industry, or to gratify the pursuits of reputation and character.

As the nation, however, is gradually hastening towards a higher state of civilization and refinement, these institutions, still in their infancy, must infallibly be productive of more extensive and permanent effects.

The Free Œconomical Society, or the Society for the promotion of Agriculture at Petersburg, is too important and useful an institution to be overlooked. It owes its origin to the

the following occasion: The empress one day at table expressing herself with warmth upon the advantages that would result from such a society, first suggested the idea to prince Orlof, who happened to be present. In conformity to the wishes of his imperial mistress, he and fourteen other persons, partly men of rank, and partly men of learning, assembled in June, 1765, drew up rules, and formed themselves into a regular society. Having laid the plan before the empress, her majesty returned the following answer, written with her own hand.

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“ The design which you have just formed for the improvement of agriculture and husbandry, is highly agreeable to Us; and your labours will be regarded as effectual proofs of a true zeal and love for your country. We consider the plan and the regulations, by which you have bound yourselves, as deserving our approbation; and we graciously allow you to be called The Free Œconomical Society. You may rest assured, that we take your society under our protection: We not only consent that you use our seal and imperial coat of arms; but, as a particular mark of our good-will towards you, we permit you to bear our device in the center of our imperial arms, namely, a hive, to which bees are bringing honey, with the motto ‘ Profitably.’

“ We gratify, moreover, your society with 6000 roubles* towards the purchase of a convenient house, as well for your meeting, as for the purpose of holding a library on subjects of agriculture. Your labours will, under the protection of Divine Providence, be highly advantageous to you and your posterity; and we will not fail, in proportion as your zeal displays itself, to increase our good-will.

“ October 31, 1765.

CATHARINE.”

* £1200.

The

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The society consists of a president, who is changed every four months; and of an indefinite number of members. The candidate for admission must be proposed by three members, and stands rejected or admitted by the majority of the persons present.

The society is chiefly supported by the voluntary contributions of its members, many of whom are persons of the first distinction and fortune. Their number, in 1781, amounted to 179.

The assembly meets regularly once in the week, when the papers on agriculture and similar subjects are read; those which are thought worthy of publication are printed at the empresses expence, and the profits of the sale are given to the society. The work is sold at a very low price; and twelve copies are forwarded *gratis* to the governors of each province, in order to be distributed in the several governments. The Transactions are either written or translated into the Russian language, and are printed in octavo. The original title was "Treatises of the Œconomical Society," which consist of 30 parts, in ten volumes. The first part was put forth in 1765, and the last in 1775. The title has since been altered into "Continuation of the Treatises," &c. and the work, instead of being published three times in the year, comes out only occasionally. Since this alteration the first volume made its appearance in 1769, and the second in 1780*.

This society gives annual prizes, consisting of gold and silver medals, or money, sometimes to the amount of £140,

* For an account of this Society, see *passim*; and the *Abhandlungen der Frey. Schmidt's Nachricht von der Freyen Oecon. Ges. or the German Translation of these Gesells, in his Beytrage; Bachm. Russ. Bib. Transactions.*

to the best solutions of certain questions relative to agriculture, for discovering improvements in husbandry, &c. CHAP.
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The empress, in the true spirit of this institution, sends several young men into England, in order to study practical agriculture. They are chiefly recommended to Arthur Younge, Esq; who has distinguished himself by many excellent works on various branches of husbandry; and who was elected in the most honourable manner a member of this society.

Catharine likewise has lately formed an establishment for the improvement of agriculture, which is as singular in its kind, as it is calculated to be highly beneficial to the country. The design was planned by Mr. Samborski, a clergyman of great learning and abilities, who studied agriculture for several years in England; and who accompanied the great-duke during his late tour, that he might observe the different modes of farming in the several countries through which he passed. The plan, which is now carrying into execution, is as follows.

At Sophisk, about three quarters of a mile from Sarisko-Selo, a farm of a thousand acres is provided with dwelling-houses, and other necessary buildings. In this spot Mr. Samborski, and the young men who have been educated in England, are to be settled. Every species of husbandry is to be introduced; and lectures upon the theory and practice of agriculture are to be given. From each seminary of the empire two children of priests, who are likely to succeed their fathers in their benefices, are to be placed in this rural establishment, that they may render themselves acquainted with the œconomy of a farm: and be able, in due time, to instruct their parishioners. Any nobleman, who is

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desirous to improve his peasants in this branch of knowledge, will be permitted to send one to Sophisk. The whole is to be under the protection and inspection of the empress. As this uncommon and curious establishment was formed since my departure from Russia, I am incapable of laying any further information before the reader. I can only add, that Mr. Samborski has carried from Mr. Younge's house, in Suffolk, ploughs, harrows, and other implements of agriculture; and is now employed in settling and regulating the farm of Sophisk.

In Petersburg there are two seminaries for the education of the nobility; the one for males is called *Corps de Cadets*; and the other for females is denominated *Le Couvent des Demoiselles Nobles*.

The house appropriated for the seminary of the land cadets, was formerly a palace belonging to prince Menzikof, and is situated in the Vassili Ostrof. The number of persons residing in this house, including the cadets, amount to at least 2000. This institution owes its first origin to the empress Anne, by the advice of marshal Munich; but it has been so much improved, and the fund so considerably enlarged by Catharine II. that her majesty may almost be called its foundress. Its annual income is £30,000 for the reception of 600 boys.

In the month of November, 1768, when I visited this school, there were 480 nobles, and 64 gymnasiasts, or children of inferior ranks, who are designed to be tutors to noblemen's children, and are instructed in classical literature. The former are chiefly intended for the army, and are dressed in uniforms, a few excepted, who follow a civil line. The children are admitted at the age of six, and remain fifteen years: they are divided into five classes, and learn French, German,

German, arithmetick, fortification, tacticks, history, geogra-
phy, &c. They also receive lessons in dancing, fencing, and
riding, and some in drawing and musick. The boys, whose
genius prompts them to such studies, are provided with
masters in the Latin, English, and Tartar tongues.

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The cadets are divided into a certain number of companies; and are regularly trained to military exercises. During six weeks in the summer they form an encampment near the town, are reviewed, and perform all the manœuvres of war. Prizes are annually distributed among those who excel, as well in their respective studies and employments, as in their exercises: these prizes consist of books, gold and silver medals, ribbands and stars. Of those whose merit has entitled them to six prizes, three are annually selected for the purpose of travelling into foreign countries, with an allowance to each of £120 per annum.

The boys are all brought up in the hardiest manner; they are not, even in winter, clad in furs, nor indulged in the use of stoves. They are habituated to all kinds of exercises, and particularly to running and leaping: I saw some of the largest cadets engaged in these manly diversions. At the further end of a large hall stood a leathern horse, the highest part of which was at least six feet: they leaped over it in every direction; sprung over its head; vaulted upon its back; turned themselves round upon it; poised themselves upon their hands, with their head upon the saddle and their feet in the air, and then threw themselves from that posture upon the floor on their legs; with many similar feats, which they performed with as much ease and agility as the most expert tumblers. These exercises are of great use in stretching their limbs, opening their chests, and rendering them robust and active. In every department great atten-

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 V. the boys are remarkably healthy.

Once or twice in the winter the cadets are permitted to give a masquerade and ball to the principal nobility. On this occasion, some of the young ladies from the female seminary are generally invited as partners for the upper boys. One of these entertainments, at which we were present, was conducted with great elegance and propriety.

The seminary for the education of the female nobility, usually called *Le Couvent des Demoiselles Nobles*, is situated at the extremity of the suburbs of Alexander Nevski. The edifice, which is a large quadrangular building, was constructed by Elizabeth, and intended for a nunnery ; but was wisely converted to its present use by Catharine II. Her majesty has endowed it with a salary of £16,000 per annum. It was first opened for the reception of children in 1764 : the foundation is for 200 nobles, and 240 *bourgeoises*, as they are called, or children of lower rank. To these the empress has added 50 supernumerary nobles, called *pensionnaires* ; and Mr. Betskoi, the humane director of all these useful societies for education, supports 40 *bourgeoises* at his own private expence. The girls are admitted between the age of five and six, and quit the seminary about eighteen. Formerly the young ladies and the *bourgeoises* were brought up in the same manner, without the least attention to their difference of rank and fortune ; but this plan is wisely amended, and they now receive educations more adapted to their respective situations in life. They are both divided into four classes. The first class is habited in white, the second in light brown, the third in green, and the lowest in chocolate. The dress of the *bourgeoises* is coarser than that of the young ladies : the first class of the latter wear also black handkerchiefs and green aprons,

aprons, while the others are clothed entirely in white. The whole society learn reading, writing, accounts, and all kind of needle-work. The young ladies are separately instructed in history and geography; they obtain, beside a grammatical knowledge of their native tongue, the French, German, and Italian languages; and receive lessons in dancing, music, and drawing, according to the bent of their genius. In the room of these accomplishments the *bourgeoises* are employed in the management of household affairs; they prepare and wash their own linen; are taught to make bread; and are trained to the art of cookery.

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One of the apartments was hung with the designs, paintings, charts, genealogical tables, and other trophies of the ingenuity of the young ladies. Prizes are annually distributed among those who distinguish themselves; they consist chiefly of ribbands, which are worn in bows at their sides.

On the day in which we visited this noble foundation, a hundred poor women dined in the hall, and were attended by the oldest members of the seminary. The young ladies distributed to each person a small silver coin, and a few yards of linen. This ceremony was instituted to inculcate in their tender minds an attention to the poor, and a readiness to relieve human distress.

The quadrangular building contains an elegant theatre, in which the young ladies occasionally act plays. We were present at a representation, and were greatly entertained with the performance. The theatre is an elegant circular room, neatly painted with trees in the form of a landscape, and seemed capable of containing about 400 spectators. The pieces were *La Servante Maitresse* and *L'Oracle*; both performed in the French tongue: the first by young ladies of about sixteen or seventeen years of age; and the last by those

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of about ten or twelve. Both parties acted with spirit, and displayed great propriety both in their gesture and elocution. I was greatly astonished at the surprizing purity with which they pronounced the French tongue. The representation was concluded by a ballet and various dances, adapted to the ages and strength of the several performers. The national dance was introduced. It is executed by two persons, who continue nearly on the same spot, but use a variety of actions with the arms, body, and head, while their shoulders are elevated and depressed in exact measure. It is expressive of a courtship; first languishing looks, coyness, refusal, and invitation, &c. and at length, after the two dancers have once or twice changed places, they make a couple of circles briskly, and conclude with an embrace.

After the play was a ball and supper, to which were admitted several of the nobility and foreign gentlemen, and a few of the cadets. About twelve a collation was served upon several tables, at which parties promiscuously ranged themselves. As I was walking about the room, one of the young ladies observing a foreigner unprovided with a seat, quitted the table where she was sitting, and politely invited me to make one of their company; an invitation I immediately accepted. I withdrew, with the rest of the company, about two o'clock in the morning, highly delighted with the ease and innocent vivacity of my fair entertainers; whose politeness and affability bespoke the elegant spirit of the institution.

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Anecdotes of professor Pallas.—His travels and works.—Circumstances of Dr. Samuel Gmelin's death.—Memoirs of Guldenstaedt.—His travels into Georgia and Imeretia.—Reception at the courts of the princes Heraclius and Solomon.—Works of Guldenstaedt.

THE * present learned and eminent naturalist and traveller, Dr. Pallas of Petersburg, is son of Simon Pallas, professor of surgery at Berlin and first surgeon of the Charity Hospital in that city. Simon Pallas, the father, made himself known among the writers of physick, by a Treatise on the Operations of Surgery, published in 1763; and by a Supplement to it, On the Diseases of the Bowels, in 1770; in which year he died at the age of 76.

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Peter Simon Pallas, the son, was born in 1731, and probably received the early part of his education at Berlin; but in the year 1750 he was sent to Gottingen, to study under the celebrated Haller, to whom he was strongly recommended by Dr. Meckel, the colleague of his father at Berlin, and professor of anatomy.

He afterwards pursued his studies in Holland, and, in the year 1760, took his degree of doctor of physick at Leyden; on which occasion he wrote a very ingenious treatise under the title of *Dissertatio inauguralis de infestis viventibus intra viventia*. In this tract the author appears to have taken great pains to distinguish these noxious animals; and has

* I am indebted for a great part of this account of Mr. Pallas to the ingenious Dr. Pulteney, well known to the publick by his "General View of the Writings of Linnæus."

with

BOOK V. with singular accuracy described, particularly, those worms which are found in the human body.

The talents of the author probably recommended him very early to the favour and patronage of the celebrated Gaubius, at that time principal professor of physick at Leyden; and through his recommendation and interest, he seems to have obtained a settlement at the Hague, where we find him in 1766, when he published a much-esteemed work under the title of *Elenchus Zoophytorum*.

The attention which Dr. Pallas had bestowed on the Zoophytes, or animal-plants, in the investigation of the worms which infest the human body, and particularly the uncommon nature of the *tania*, or tape-worm, as he acknowledges, seems to have led him into this line of natural science, and in which he has shown a great degree of accuracy, and surprising industry. In this work, which is printed in octavo, pp. 451, after having treated on the nature of these ambiguous kinds of animals in a general way, and given the various opinions of authors, relating to the place they ought to hold in the System of Nature, he describes, from his own inspection, more than 270 species of those worms and animalcules, which are known under the various names of polypes, corals, madrepores, corallines, sea-pens, *tania*, or tape-worm, sponges, sea-fans, &c.

The free access which he had to the museum of the prince of Orange, and other curious collections in Holland, enabled him to enrich his work with the description of a great variety of these productions, which were brought from both Indies. He has described each species at large, and given it a new name characteristick of its real distinctions: and what especially increases the value of his work; he has, with wonderful industry, extricated, as far as possible, the synonyms of

of former authors, both ancient and modern; thus rendering his book highly useful to those who are curious in this branch of natural history.

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That our author's character as a man of science must have been well established, even before the publication of this book, may fairly be inferred from his being elected member of the Royal Society of London, on the 7th of June, 1764, and of the Imperial Academy before that time.

It is probable that the credit of these works occasioned the removal of the author to his native city, where he was resident in 1767; and in the same year he was invited, by the empress of Russia, to accept the professorship of natural history at Petersburg; and was, at the same time, made inspector of the museum.

The sovereigns of Russia had at various times deputed learned and skilful men to visit the most distant provinces of their vast empire, with a view to enlarge the bounds of science, and extend the knowledge of useful arts among the natives. About the time of our author's establishment at Petersburg, two of these expeditions had been planned: Dr. S. Gmelin had the conduct of one; and Pallas was placed at the head of the other, with Messrs. Falk, Lepekin, and Guldenstaedt, as his associates.

Mr. Pallas quitted Petersburg in the month of June, 1768, passed through Moscow, Volodimir, Kasimof, Murom, Arfamas, to Casan; and, having examined great part of that province, wintered at Simbirsk. From thence he departed in March of the following year, and penetrated through Samara, and Orenburgh, as far as Gurief, a small Russian fortress, situated at the mouth of the river Yaic, or Ural. There he examined the confines of Calmuc Tartary, and the neighbouring shores of the Caspian; and, returning through

BOOK V. the province of Orenburgh, he passed the second winter at Ufa. After several expeditions in the adjacent parts of that province, he left Ufa on the 16th of May, 1770; prosecuted his route through the Uralian mountains to Catharinenburgh; visited the mines of that district; proceeded to Tcheliabinsk, a small fortress in the government of Orenburgh; and in December made an excursion as far as Tobolsk. The next year he was employed in traversing the Altai Mountains, in tracing the course of the Irtysh up to Omsk and Kolyvan; where, having inspected the celebrated silver-mines, he made for Tomsk, and finished that year's expedition at Krasnoyarsk, a town upon the Yenisei. In that place, situated only in the 56th degree of north latitude, the cold was so intense, that the learned professor was witness to the natural freezing of quicksilver, which curious phenomenon he has minutely described *.

From Krasnoyarsk he issued on the 7th of March, 1772, and proceeded by Irkutsk, and across the Lake Baikal to Udinsk, Selenginsk, and Kiakta, where the trade between Russia and China is principally carried on. Having penetrated into that part of Dauria which is situated in the south eastermost part of Siberia, he journeyed between the rivers Ingoda and Argoon, at no great distance from the Amoor; thence tracing the lines which separate the Russian empire from the Mongol hordes dependent upon China, he returned to Selenginsk, and again wintered at Krasnoyarsk.

In the summer of 1773, he visited Tara, Yaitsk, and Astracan; and concluded that year's route at Tzaritzin, a town upon the Volga; from whence he continued his journey in the en-

* See Pallas Reise, P. III. p. 417—419. in V. I. p. 227, of Chemical Essays, by Dr. Watson, bishop of Landaff.

being spring, and arrived at Peterburgh on the 30th of July, 1774, after an absence of six years. CHAP.
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The account of this extensive and interesting tour was published by Mr. Pallas, in three parts *, containing 2004 pages, in five volumes in quarto, which has greatly contributed to extend his fame and establish his character.

The author, in this valuable work, has entered into a geographical and topographical description of the provinces, towns, and villages, which he visited in his tour, accompanied with an accurate account of their antiquities, history, productions, and commerce; he has discriminated many of the tribes who wander over the various districts, and near the confines of Siberia; and detailed, with peculiar precision, their customs, manners, and languages: he has also rendered his travels invaluable to the naturalist, from the many important discoveries in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, with which he has enriched the science of natural history.

These travels are written in the German language; but the author has added to each part an appendix in the Latin tongue, which contain 395 scientific descriptions of several quadrupeds, birds, fish, insects, and plants. He has also greatly contributed to increase the utility of his performance by 9 charts and 123 engravings of various antiquities, of several Tartar dresses and idols, and of many animals and plants.

The curious naturalists and philosophers of England could not fail considering a translation of these travels, and those of Georgi, Lepekin, and Gmelin, the two former whereof were made, and the latter were printed, under the inspection of Pallas, as a valuable addition to our knowledge of those distant parts of the globe.

* Reise durch verschiedenen Provinzen des Russischen Reichs.

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Expeditions of this kind, into inhospitable regions, among vagrant, and almost barbarous nations, are full of danger; as had been sufficiently experienced, and particularly in that undertaken by Muller, and Gmelin the elder, in the reign of the empress Anne; and nothing but the most extensive ardour for science can stimulate men to such undertakings. In that expedition M. De l'Isle and Steller perished; and, as if these schemes were destined to ill fate, Dr. S. Gmelin, after having lost many of his papers and collections, sunk under grief and disease, and expired in a small village of Mount Caucasus in 1774: Falk died in the course of the journey; and professor Lowitz was wantonly massacred by the inhuman Pugatchef.

Mr. Pallas fortunately returned, but not without having endured many hardships, and having narrowly escaped from the most imminent dangers; as we may conclude by the manner in which he finishes the account of his travels.

“And on the 30th of July I reached Peterburgh, with a very enfeebled body and grey hairs, though only in the three and thirtieth year of my age; but yet much stronger than when I was in Siberia; and full of grateful acknowledgements to Providence for having hitherto preserved and delivered me from numberless perils.”

Mr. Pallas, known to the generality of the English readers only as a great naturalist, deserves a considerable place among those writers who have succeeded in developing the complicated history of the roving tribes, that are scattered over those extensive regions which stretch from the heart of Siberia to the northern limits of India. The professor has, in a recent publication, entitled, *Collectiões upon the Political, Physical, and Civil History of the Mongol Tribes**, thrown new light upon the annals of a people, whose an-

* *Samlungen Hist. Nachrichten ueber Mongolischen Volkerchaften.*

cestors conquered Russia, China, Persia, and Indostan; and, at more than one period, established, perhaps, a larger empire than ever was possessed by any single nation. The materials for this publication he collected, partly during an intercourse with the Mongols, Burats, and Calmucs, and partly from the communications of Muller and Gmelin. CHAP.
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Hitherto most authors who have written upon these Asiatic hordes, have called them all indiscriminately by the name of Tartars: but this erroneous appellation is rectified by Mr. Pallas; and he proves unquestionably, that the Mongol tribes are a distinct race from the Tartars; that they differ from them in their features, language, and government; and resemble them in nothing but in a similar inclination to a roving life.

This primitive nation of Asia, whose origin, history, and present state form the subject of this interesting work, dates its celebrity from its founder Zinghis Khan, whose exploits and sovereignty have been already mentioned. When his vast dominions fell to pieces under his successors in the 16th century, the Mongol and Tartar hordes, who had formed one empire, again separated, and have since continued distinct and independent. The Mongol hordes Mr. Pallas divides into three principal branches, called Mongols, Oerats or Calmucs, and Burats; and each of these he separately describes with that precision and accuracy which distinguish all his writings. This volume, describing their historical, civil, and political state, is to be followed by a second, that will contain a very circumstantial account of their religious establishment, which consists in the worship of the Dalai Lama. It is the religion of Thibet, and of the Manshur sovereigns who now sit upon the throne of China. "A work," as Mr. Tooke justly observes, "that will enrich
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“ the stock of human knowledge with discoveries, the greatest part entirely new, and which no person but Mr. Pallas is able to communicate *.”

In the same year in which this author printed his *Elenchus Zoophytorum*, he also put forth a treatise, under the title of *Miscellanea Zoologica quibus novæ imprimis atque obscuræ Animalium species describuntur et observationibus iconibusque illustrantur*. Hagæ Comm. pp. 118. with 14 copper plates. This work is in a great measure incorporated into a subsequent publication, made the next year on his return to Berlin, entitled, *Spicilegia Zoologica*; and which has been continued in numbers, or *fasciculi*, at uncertain periods, until 1780, when the 14th was delivered. It contains, beside the letter press, 72 plates, and has reflected the highest credit upon the author, as a most careful observer and critick in zoology: it comprehends a rich magazine of knowledge for future writers, not only from the great number of new animals discovered in consequence of his travels through the Russian empire, but also from a vast fund of new observations on those before known, and particularly from the light he has thrown upon the descent of several of the domesticated kinds, the origin of which had been hitherto involved in the utmost obscurity. The writings of count Buffon, the illustrious French zoologist, amply testify the labours of Pallas in the supplementary volumes: and our own excellent writer on the same subject, Mr. Pennant, makes frequent acknowledgements of his obligations to the same source, particularly for his new edition of the Synopsis of Quadrupeds, having received from Mr. Pallas considerable additions and corrections communicated in a long series of letters.

* Tooke's Russia Illustrata, Introd. p. cxi.

In June 1777 the learned professor read before the academy of Peterburgh, in a meeting at which the king of Sweden was present, a Dissertation on the Formation of Mountains, and the Changes which this Globe has undergone, more particularly as it appears in the Russian empire. This curious treatise, written in the French tongue, was printed at St. Peterburgh ; and a translation of it is given by Mr. Tooke in his *Russia Illustrata*. CHAP.
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In 1778 he published *Novæ Species Quadrupedum e Gli-rium ordine*. This performance, printed at Erlang in quarto, contains 388 pages and 27 plates, and describes numbers of the rat genus, and their anatomy.

In 1781 he brought out *Enumeratio Plantarum quæ in horto Procopii à Demidof Moscuâ vigent* ; (Pet. octavo.) or Catalogue of the Plants in Mr. Demidof's Gardens at Moscow ; and in the same year he gave to the publick two volumes, in octavo, of an interesting work in the German tongue, called, *Neue Nordische Beytrage*, &c. or New Northern Collections on various subjects of Geography, Natural History, and Agriculture ; which, amongst other dissertations, contain the following by himself.

Description of the Tangut Buffalo, together with general observations on the wild species of oxen ; from the French, by the same author, in the New Commentaries of the academy, accompanied with an engraving.—Natural history of the Korfak, a species of little fox, found in the southern deserts of Middle Asia.—Remarks upon tape-worms in men and animals, with engravings. In this dissertation he continues his observations upon these noxious animals which he had made in his *Dissertatio Inauguralis* ; and even accurately describes 21 distinct species.—Comparison of certain mortal distempers observed in Sweden, Russia, Siberia, and the neighbouring deserts, which may be comprehended under the general name of gangrenous boils.—Remarks upon that chain of the Swedish mountains which stretcheth between the White Sea and the Lakes Onega and Ladoga.—Description of the bones

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Accounts of Thibet, from the relations of some Tangut Lamas [priests] among the Mongols of Selenginsk.—Description of the mountain Altai, from a Chinese book, translated in 1759 by Rossokin, &c.—Journal of an expedition* over the ice, made by Andreef, Leontief, and Lyffof, to the Bear Islands in the Frozen Ocean, near the mouth of the Kovyma.—Geographical description of the river Anadyr and the rivulets which it receives.—Particular accounts of the Tchutski promontory, and the neighbouring islands, translated from the Russian.—Account of the Journal of captain Krenitzin and Levashef from Kamtchatka to the New Discovered Islands, as far as Alaska, on the American Continent; from Coxe's Russian Discoveries.—On the discoveries in the Eastern Ocean between Siberia and America, with a chart of the said discoveries.—Short description of the ceremonies observed from the 22d of June, 1729, to the 12th of July, in the village of Urga upon the river Elbina, at the new-birth of the Kutukta, one of the most celebrated priests among the Mongols.—Description of the art still practised at Astracan of preparing shagreen.—On the migration of the large water-mice (*mus amphibius*) generally called water-rat, upon the Volga.

The second volume contains the following treatises.

Description of the *dshigetai*, or wild-mule, found in the deserts of Middle Asia, from the Latin account of the same author in the New Commentaries, with a coloured figure.—Observation on the *onager* of the antients, or the wild-ass, from the French in Act. Acad. Pet. for 1777, with an engraving of the animal.—Account of two American monkeys (*Simia Jacchus*), which have propagated their breed at Petersburg.—Description of the Surinam heron, or *ardea belias*, with a coloured engraving.—Remarks on tape-worms, in regard to the 12th and 14th article in the *Naturforscher*.—Journal of the route of a caravan in 1727 and 1728, from Kiakta to Pekin, under the direction of the agent Laurence Lange.—Journal of the route of a caravan in 1736, from Zurukaitu through Mongolia to Pekin.—Geographical and historical description of Pekin.—Remarks upon the Labrador stone.—Topographical and physical description of Beering's Island, extracted from Steller's papers.—Short description of Copper Island, extracted from the papers of Peter Yakovlaff, who sailed there in 1755.—Account of a four years' voyage to the islands between Asia and America, made in 1772

* A chart of this expedition is given in the Russian Discoveries.

by Demetri Bragin, and communicated to Mr. Pallas at Irkutsk.—Extract from a journal of a voyage, made by Ivan Solovief in 1770 to 1778; to the American promontory, called Alaska. CHAP. VII.

The third volume, which made its appearance in 1782, contains these treatises by Mr. Pallas.

Description of two remarkable South-American birds, the *Cuculus Tenebrosus*, and *Picus Minutissimus*.—Account of Daniel Gotlieb Wefferichmidt's seven years journey through Siberia.—Route from Kiof to Constantinople in the year 1714, translated from the Russian.—Journal of a voyage in 1775, to explore the coast of America north of California, by the Second Pilot of the Spanish fleet, Don Francisco Antonio Maurelle, in the king's schooner Sonora, commanded by Don John Francisco de la Bodega.—Extract from Saikof's Journal of a Voyage to the western coasts of America.—Conjectures on the origin of the Americans.—Short extract from the History of Georgia.—Description of the solemn burning of a lama, or priest's body.

In 1782 he put forth two *fasciculi*, or numbers, of *Icones Insectorum, præsertim Russiæ, Siberiæque peculiarium*, &c. quarto, Erlang; or Figures of Insects, principally of those which are peculiar to Russia and Siberia, accompanied with descriptions and illustrations. These two numbers treat of the *scarabæi*, *curculiones*, *tenebriones*, *bupestres*, *meloedes*, *cerambyces*, with six plates, containing coloured figures of 180 insects of those genera.

By intelligence received during the course of last year, we find that he is employed in the arrangement and publication of a splendid work, which is to be done at the empresses expence, and is to contain the entire botany of the Russian empire. It is to be embellished with several hundred plates of the more useful or scarce plants. It will be of the large sized paper, and will be delivered out in numbers.

Exclusive of these separate publications, he has likewise read before the imperial academy the following dissertations,

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which

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Descriptio tubulariæ fungosæ prope Wolodimerum mense Julio 1768 observatæ. — De ossibus Siberiæ fossilibus craneis præsertim rhinocerotum atque buffalorum, observationes. — De reliquiis animalium exoticorum per Asiam borealem repertis complementum. De reliquis animalium exoticorum per Asiam borealem repertis complementum. — Observatio de dentibus molaribus fossilibus ignoti animalis, &c. ad Uralense jugum repertis. The extraordinary facts mentioned in these three treatises, on the fossil bones, skulls, and other parts of the rhinoceros, elephant, and buffalo, found in various parts of Siberia, have been already related. *Descriptio Leporis Pusilli. Descriptiones Quadrupedum et Avium anno 1769 observatorum. Equus Hemionus—Tetrao Arenaria.—Lacerta Apoda. — Additamentum Diff. de Cranio Rbin. &c. — Observationes circa Myrmecophagam Africanam et Didelphidis novam speciem, &c. — Description du Buffle à queue de cheval précédée d'observations générales sur les espèces sauvages du gros bétail. — Observations sur l'âne dans son état sauvage, ou sur le véritable Onagre des anciens *.*

It cannot but be pleasing to the lovers of science to be informed that Mr. Pallas has been lately distinguished with a mark of imperial favour, being appointed a member of the board of mines, with an additional appointment of £200 per annum.

As the care of putting into order and publishing the papers of Gmelin and Guldenstaedt is consigned to Mr. Pallas, I shall close this chapter with a short account of those learned professors.

Dr. Samuel Gmelin, professor at Tubingen, and afterwards member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at Petersburg, commenced his travels in June, 1768; and having traversed the provinces of Moscow, Voronetz, New Russia, Azof, Casan, and Astracan, he visited, in the years 1770 and 1771, the

* These several treatises are in the 12th, 13th, 14th, 17th, and 19th Vols. of the *Novi Comment.* and in the *Acta* for 1777, Part II.

different

different harbours of the Caspian; and examined with peculiar attention those parts of the Persian provinces which border upon that sea, of which he has given a circumstantial account in the three volumes of his travels already published. Actuated by a zeal for extending his observations, he attempted to pass through the western provinces of Persia, which are in a perpetual state of warfare, and infested by numerous banditti.

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Upon this expedition he quitted, in the month of April, 1772, Einzillee, a small trading place in Ghilan, upon the southern shore of the Caspian; and, on account of many difficulties and dangers, did not, until the second of December, 1773, reach Sallian, a town situated upon the mouth of the river Koor. From thence he proceeded to Baku and Kuba, in the province of Shirvan, where he met with a friendly reception from Ali Feth Khan, the sovereign of that district. After he had been joined by twenty Uralian cosacs, and when he was only four days journey from the Russian fortress Kislar, he and his companions were, on the 5th of February, 1774, arrested by order of Usmèi Khan, a petty Tartar prince, through whose territories he was obliged to pass. Usmèi urged as a pretence for this arrest, that thirty years ago several families had escaped from his dominions, and had found an asylum in the Russian territories; adding, that Gmelin should not be released until these families were restored. The professor was removed from prison to prison; and at length, wearied out with continued persecutions, he expired on the 27th of July at Achmet-Kent, a village of Mount Caucasus; his death was occasioned partly by vexation for the loss of several papers and collections, and partly by disorders contracted from the fatigues of his long journey. Some of his papers had been sent to

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Kislar during his imprisonment; and the others were not without great difficulty rescued from the hands of the barbarian who had detained him in captivity *. The arrangement of these papers, which will form a fourth volume of his travels, was at first consigned to the care of Guldenstaedt, but upon his death has been transferred to Mr. Pallas.

John Anthony Guldenstaedt was born at Riga on the 26th of April, 1745; received the rudiments of his education in that town; and in 1763 was admitted into the medical college of Berlin. He completed his studies at Franckfort upon the Oder, and in 1767 received the degree of doctor of physick in that university. On account of his knowledge of foreign languages, and the considerable progress he had made in natural history, he was considered as a fit person to engage in the expeditions which were planned by the imperial academy. Being invited to Peterburgh, he arrived in that city in 1768, was created adjunct of the academy, and afterwards, in 1770, member of that society, and professor of natural history. In June, 1768, he set out upon his travels, and was absent seven years.

From Moscow, where he continued till March, 1769, he passed to Voronetz, Tzaritzin, Astracan, and Kislar, a fortress upon the western shore of the Caspian, and close to the confines of Persia. In 1770 he examined the districts watered by the rivers Terek, Sunsha, and Alkfai in the eastern extremity of Caucasus; and in the course of the ensuing year penetrated into Offetia, in the highest part of the same mountain; where he collected vocabularies of the languages spoken in those regions, made inquiries into the history of the people, and discovered some traces of Christianity among them. Having visited Cabarda and the northern chain of the Cau-

* See Bach. Russ. Bibl. for 1775, p. 50.

casus, he proceeded to Georgia, and was admitted to an audience of prince Heraclius, who was encamped about ten miles from Tefflis. CHAP.
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Prince Heraclius *, or as he is called the tzar Iracli, who made so bold a stand against the Turks in the last war between the Porte and Russia, and now possesses all Georgia, Kaketia, and the two small districts of Bortshal and Kosak, which were ceded to him by Nadir Shah, is above sixty years old, of a middle size, with a long countenance, a dark complexion, large eyes, and a small beard. He passed his youth at the court, and in the army of the celebrated Nadir Shah, where he contracted a fondness for Persian customs and manners, which he has introduced into his kingdom. He has seven sons and six daughters. He is much revered and dreaded by the Persian khans his neighbours; and is usually chosen to mediate between them in their disputes with each other. When they are at war, he supports one of the parties with a few troops, who diffuse a spirit and courage among the rest, because the Georgian soldiers are esteemed the bravest of those parts; and prince Heraclius himself is renowned for his courage and military skill. When on horseback he has always a pair of loaded pistols at his girdle, and, if the enemy is near, a musket slung over his shoulder. In all engagements he is the foremost to give examples of personal bravery; and frequently charges the enemy at the head of his troops with the sabre in his hand. He loves pomp and expence; he has adopted the dress of Persia; and regulates his court after the manner of that country. From the example of the Russian troops, who were quartered in Georgia during the last Turkish war, he has learnt the use of plates, knives, and forks, dishes, and household furniture, &c. Although his

* " See Journ. St. Pet. 1779, p. 328.

revenues

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revenues are very small, scarcely exceeding £50,000 per annum, yet he contrives to maintain a standing army of about 6000 men.

The professor accompanied prince Heraclius in a campaign along the banks of the river Koor, 80 miles into the interior part of Georgia, and returned with him to Teflis.

All the houses of that capital are of stone, with flat roofs, which serve, according to the custom of the east, as walks for the women. The buildings are neat and clean, but the streets are exceedingly dirty and narrow. The town contains one Roman Catholick, thirteen Greek, and seven Armenian churches. Having passed the winter in Teflis, and in examining the adjacent country, he followed in spring the prince to the province of Koketia, and explored the southern districts inhabited by the Turcoman Tartars and subject to Heraclius, in the company of a Georgian magnate whom he had cured of a dangerous disorder.

In July he passed into Imeretia, a country which lies between the Caspian and Black Seas, and is bounded on the east by Georgia, on the north by Offetia, on the west by Mingrelia, and on the south by the Turkish dominions.

The* sovereign of this district, the prince or tzar Solomon, having upon his accession forbid the scandalous traffick practised by the noblemen of selling their peasants, greatly offended the Turks, who gained by that species of commerce: being by their intrigues driven from his throne, and compelled to find an asylum in the woods and mountains, he lived like a wild-man for sixteen years in caverns and holes, and frequently by his personal courage escaped assassination, until he was reinstated in his dominions by the Russians in the late war. The prince wears usually a coarse

* See Journ. St. Pet. p. 336.

dress of a brown colour, with a musket upon his shoulder; ^{CHAP. VII.} but upon solemn occasions he puts on a robe of rich gold brocade, and hangs round his neck a silver chain. He is distinguished from his subjects by riding upon an ass, perhaps the only one in Imeretia, and by wearing boots.

He has no regular troops, but can collect a desultory and undisciplined army of 6000 men, with no artillery. These troops are drawn together by the sound of the trumpet: in other respects the prince's orders are issued in the following manner at the markets which are held every Friday. One of his servants ascends a tree near the place of meeting, and proclaims the edict with a loud voice, which is communicated to the people by each person upon his return to the place of his abode. His subjects are of the Greek religion.

In the almost unknown dominions of this prince, who, from his gratitude to Russia, afforded to Guldenstaedt every assistance in his power, the professor penetrated into the middle chain of Mount Caucasus, visited the confines of Mingrelia, Middle Georgia, and Eastern and Lower Imeretia; and, after escaping many imminent dangers from the banditti of those parts, fortunately returned to Kislar on the 18th of November, where he passed the winter, collecting various information concerning the neighbouring Tartar tribes of the Caucasus, and particularly the Lefgees. In the following summer he journeyed to Cabarda Major, continued his course to Mount Beshtan, the highest point of the first ridge of the Caucasus; inspected the mines of Madshar, and went to Tcherkask upon the Don. From thence he made expeditions to Azof and Taganrog, and then along the new limits to the Dnieper, he finished this year's route at Krementshuk, in the government of New Russia. In the ensuing spring he was proceeding to Crim Tartary, but receiving

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Upon his return he was employed in arranging his papers; but before he could finish them for the press, was seized with a violent fever, which proved mortal, and carried him to the grave, in the month of March, 1781. His writings, which have been hitherto published, consist only of the following treatises.

Theoria virium corporis humani primitivarum, &c. by which he obtained his doctor's degree.—*Memoire sur les produits de Russie propres pour soutenir la balance du commerce exterieur toujours favorable*. St. Pet. 1777.—Account of the Havens in the Seas of Azof, Euxine, and Marmora, in the Journal of St. Petersburg for 1776.—Of the Harbours and Trade of the Caspian Sea, with a Chart in the same Journal for 1777.—Chymical Analysis of the Warm Baths near the River Terek, in the Geographical Calendar for 1778.—Geographical, Historical, and Political Account of the new Russian Lines between the Terek and the Sea of Azof, accompanied with a Map in the Journal for 1779.—Thoughts on the Commerce to be opened between Russia and Germany, through the Danube, in the Journal for 1780.—The five last articles are written in the German language; and the following, which are printed in the Acts of the Academy, are in the Latin tongue.

Mus Suslica—*Anas Nyroca*—*Spalax novum glirium genus*—*Peregrina nova Mustelæ species*—*Salmo Leucichtys et Cyprinus Chalcoides descripti*—*Kraschenicovia novum plantarum genus*—*Cyprinus Copoeta et Cyprinus Mursa*—*Acerina piscis ad Percæ genus pertinens*.—*Sex avium descriptiones*.—*Loxia Rubicilla*.—*Tanagra Melanicteta*.—*Musciapa Melanoleuca*—*Motacilla Erythrogasta*—*Scolopax Fubarquata et Cinerea*—*Chacalæ historia*—*Chaus, animal feli affine descriptum*.—*Antilopes Subguttorose Descriptio, et Anatomia*.—*Cyprinus Barbus et Cyprinus Capito*. Appendix Observationum ad hist. reliquorum Cyp. cirratorum pertinentium.

* For an account of Guldenstaedt see richt von den Lebens-Umstanden des Ruff. Bib. v. I. p. 49. 102. 301. 548. v. II. Herrn Prof. Guldenstaedt, in Journ. St. Pet. p. 221. 456. v. III. p. 72. 421. Hist. des for 1781. Decouvertes, &c. Introd. p. 27. and Nach-

C H A P. VIII.

Origin of the Slavonian alphabet.—Its introduction into Russia.—The small progress made by the Russians in the arts and sciences owing neither to want of genius nor to the effects of climate.—Inquiry into the rise and progress of Russian literature.—I. Historians.—Nestor and his continuators.—Cyril.—Makari.—Nicon.—Theophanes.—Khilkof.—Tatishchev.—Sherebatof.—Remarks on Voltaire's Life of Peter the Great.—II. Poets.—Lomonozof.—Digression concerning the Russian stage.—Volkof.—Sumorokof.—Kheraskof.—His epick poem the Rossiada.—Russian translations.—Classical learning.

THE invention of the Slavonian characters is generally attributed to Constantine, a Greek philosopher, afterwards more known by the name of Cyril, which he assumed when he turned monk. About the middle of the 9th century, Cyril and his brother Methodius were sent from Constantinople by Michael III. to plant the Gospel among the Slavonian nations inhabiting the countries bordering upon the Danube, now called Hungary and Bulgaria, and those which were settled in Bohemia and Moravia. As those barbarous nations scarcely knew the use of letters, Cyril composed for them an alphabet, and translated several religious books into their tongue*. The greatest part of the characters were the capitals of the Greek alphabet, the same

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* "Petentibus deinde, ut litteris instruerentur, Michael Imp. Methodium et Constantinum Leonis Theſſalonicenſis filios miſit, qui cum permultos libros convertiſſent Slavonicę, Methodius Moravię

"epiſcopatum adiit, Conſtantine monachum induit et nomen Cyrilli." Extracted by Bayer from an antient annaliſt in his ingenious Diſſertation de Ruſſorum in Comm. Petrop. VI. p. 366.

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usually employed in writing; to which he added a few others in order to express several sounds that were peculiar to the Slavonian language. Notwithstanding the difficulty of ascertaining the first formation of any alphabet, the probability of this account seems to be established from the perfect similarity which subsists between the characters in the most antient ecclesiastical writings, and those in a copy of a Greek manuscript of the ninth century, published by Montfaucon *. Another proof that Cyril's alphabet was formed from the Greek, may be derived from the following circumstances, that most of those Slavonian nations, who received Christianity from the Greeks, and have retained the Greek religion, still make use of his characters; while the other people of that tribe, who were either first converted by the Germans or Italians, or who afterwards adopted the Roman Catholick tenets, employ either the German or Roman alphabet †.

That tribe of Slavonians, called Russians, when they issued from the banks of the Danube in the ninth century and laid the foundation of this empire, either brought with

* Palæographia Græca, p. 408. Although I have only a superficial knowledge of the Slavonian alphabet, yet merely from that slight acquaintance upon comparing the above-mentioned Greek manuscript written in the ninth century with the Cyrilian characters; I was able to trace so perfect a similarity as to make out several words, notwithstanding the abbreviations.

† Beside the Russians, the Slavonians dwelling in Dalmatia, and in the Islands under the dominion of Venice, who are of the Greek religion, still use the Cyrilian characters. The same were employed by all the nations of Hungary, Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and others in the Austrian territories; but as the Roman Catholick persuasion has gained ground amongst them,

they have lately begun to adopt the Roman letters; while the Slavonian people, subject to the Turks, namely, the inhabitants of Albania, Servia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, who are of the Greek religion, preserve the Cyrilian alphabet. The Bohemians, who soon after their first conversion quitted the Greek religion, and were afterwards turned by the Germans to the Roman Catholick sect, use the German or Gothick characters, which were also in use among the Poles, equally indebted to the Germans for the first introduction of Christianity amongst them; but the Poles have lately, in most of their publications, adopted the Roman alphabet. See the Preface to the Neue Slavonisch und Deutsche Grammatik, printed at Vienna, 1774.

them,

them, if they knew the use of letters, the Cyrilian alphabet, or afterwards adopted it when converted to Christianity, and when the Slavonian Bible, translated by Cyril in the same century, was introduced amongst them. These characters are occasionally written, like the oldest Greek and Roman manuscripts, of equal size, at equal distances, without connection or stops, and without distinction of words. CHAP.
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The earliest Slavonian book ever published was a Russian translation of the Pentateuch, printed in the Cyrilian alphabet at Prague in 1519*: the same letters were introduced into Russia upon the establishment of the first press at Moscow; and they continued to be used, not only for ecclesiastical publications, but also for all others, until 1707, when some new Russian types, consisting of great and small letters, were cast at Amsterdam for the printing-house at Moscow, similar to those which are now employed†. The language in which the church-service is still performed is the same which was spoken in the ninth century by the Slavonians settled upon the banks of the Danube, in the countries now called Hungary and Bulgaria, from whom the Russians are undoubtedly descended. The translation of the Bible made in that century, being still in general use, has ascertained its original, and preserved it in its pristine state; and it is remarkable, that the several dialects of Slavonian, such as Polish, Russian, Bohemian, &c. have a greater resemblance to this mother tongue than to each other‡.

The Cyrilian alphabet employed by the Russian church is composed of 39 characters, some of which contained, according to our mode of spelling, three or even four conso-

* Essai sur la Bibliotheque, p. 92.

† See a Specimen of the Russian characters, in v. I. p. 339.

‡ Schloetzer Prob. Ruf. An. p. 189.

BOOK nants ; but, as new modified in 1707 for common use, is
 V. reduced to 30 * letters.

The Slavonian, in its different dialects, is known through a larger extent of country, and by a greater number of people, than perhaps any other language in the world. It is the native tongue in Bohemia, Moravia, Croatia, Carinthia, Carniola, Slavonia, Bosnia, Servia, Albania, Dalmatia, different parts of Hungary and Bulgaria, Poland, and Russia ; in a word, a traveller acquainted with that language would be understood from the confines of Germany to the Sea of Kamtchatka.

The Russian dialect of the Slavonian, which is said to be extremely rich and harmonious, has not, till very lately, undergone any degree of cultivation, having been chiefly confined to affairs of government, ecclesiastical writings, and to unconnected chronicles and journals.

Some authors, in considering the small advances which the Russians have made in the arts and sciences, when compared with the progress of the more enlightened nations in Europe, have erroneously attributed this deficiency to the effects of their climate, or to an innate want of genius. With respect to the latter assertion, it scarcely deserves a serious refutation : for all intellectual improvement must arise from culture ; and the greater or lesser degree of knowledge must ultimately depend upon the greater or lesser degree of instruction. Besides, this illiberal national reflection, indiscriminately cast upon a whole people, is sufficiently refuted by the bare mention of several illustrious Russians, who, amongst many others, might be selected on this occasion : Philaretos and Nikon ; Sophia Alexiefna ; prince Vassili Galitzin and

* Russian Dictionary, 1778. In Charpentier's Grammar there are 32 characters.

Peter the Great ; the learned Theophanes ; the poets Lomozof and Sumorokof ; and the present historian prince She-
 rebatof. CHAP.
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With respect to the first objection, that the genius of this nation has been fettered by the intense cold of their climate, we may subjoin the following remarks. If climate has such an invincible effect upon mankind, where shall we draw the line of the greatest intellectual ability ? shall we suppose a point, in which the human mind is at its greatest perfection, and from which, in proportion as it recedes, it gradually degenerates ; in the same manner as rays of light become fainter and fainter as they diverge from their focus to a greater distance ? Is the influence of climate uniform or casual ? if uniform, why is modern Greece no longer the seat of arts and learning ? Why was Iceland once the sole repository of northern literature ? Why are the Swedes more enlightened than the Russians ? and why are not the Russians of Astracan more civilized than those of Peterburgh and Archangel ? If the effects of climate are casual, they are then counterbalanced by other circumstances, and it ceases to be a positive criterion of distinction.

To a person at all conversant with this subject of inquiry there are many impediments arising from the government, religion, and particularly from the absolute vassalage of the peasants, which would tend to check the diffusion of the arts and sciences in this empire, without the necessity of having recourse to a supposed want of genius in the natives, or to the effect of climate. But instead of combating theoretical reasonings, which have no foundation in fact or experience ; I shall hasten to trace the rise and progress of Russian literature, and take a cursory view of its present state.

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While some authors deny the smallest portion of literature to the Russians, and even hold them to be incapable of any considerable progress in science; others, on the contrary, assert, that they began to be enlightened even at so early a period as during the reigns of Oleg and Igor*. But their arguments in favour of this hypothesis, prove little more than that the art of writing was probably not absolutely unknown to the Russians in those times; that they concluded treaties of alliance and commerce; sealed commissions and passports; that they were not entirely without laws; and that they had composed, or could repeat, a few antient songs, which celebrated the military exploits of their princes and leaders. But undoubtedly the whole nation was plunged in the grossest ignorance, and in a situation not superior to that of the most wandering hordes who now inhabit Independent Tartary. It is said of Svatoflaf, the son of Igor†, “Upon his march he carried with him no baggage-waggon, no kitchen furniture; his food was the flesh of horses and other animals, just warmed over the fire; he had no tent; his housings served him for a bed, and his saddle for a pillow; and his whole army followed his example.” A description which characterizes the chief of an unlettered

* 1. Ruric, entered Russia about 862; died 879.

2. Oleg, probably the nephew of Ruric, great-duke or regent during the minority of Igor.

3. Igor, died 945; married Olga.

4. Svatoflaf, died 973.

5. Yaropolk, died 980.

6. Vladimir the Great reigned 980; died 1014.

7. Yaroflaf, 1053.

† Journ. St. Pet. for 1781, Part I. p. 151.

Scythian

Scythian tribe, and not the sovereign of a people in whom the smallest traces of the arts were to be found. And although perhaps the knowledge of the Slavonian alphabet might have been brought into Russia by a few Christians, who were drawn to the court by Olga, the wife of Igor, yet the first introduction of literature must be ascribed to Vladimir the Great, upon his conversion to Christianity in 988 : that sovereign even instituted schools, and passed a decree * to regulate the mode of instructing youth in his dominions. His son Yaroslav, who ascended the throne in 1018, invited many learned priests from Constantinople, caused various Greek books to be translated into the Russian tongue, hymns and other poetical versions of the psalms to be sung in the churches : he established a seminary at Novogorod for 300 students ; and gave to that republic the first code of written laws. This dawn of letters, which shone upon Russia at so early a period, was however obscured by the subsequent calamities ; and was succeeded by a long darkness of three centuries, during which time the nation was subject to the Tartar yoke.

The Christian religion, however, tended in this, as well as in most other countries of Europe, to preserve some small remains of literature in the schools and seminaries of the several monasteries. Thus each of these mansions of bigotry and superstition then fortunately became an asylum for the preservation, though not for the diffusion of knowledge ; and in this period of barbarism and ignorance many monks were distinguished for their erudition.

Upon the final expulsion of the Tartars by Ivan Vassilievitch I. in the middle of the 15th century, Russia gradu-

* This curious decree still exists in the French by Bachmeister, in his *Essai sur la langue Russe*, and is translated into Bib. &c. p. 9.

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ally emerged from this state of almost total darkness; and continued improving in civilization and culture, under the patronage of the succeeding sovereigns, particularly Ivan II. Boris Godunof, the two first tzars of the line of Romanof, and the princess Sophia, who held the reins of government in the minority of Peter I. But it was not till the æra of that great monarch, that letters, which a few instances excepted had hitherto been confined to the regular clergy, began to be cultivated by the laity; a sure sign that the nation was advancing to a more general state of improvement.

A review of the lives and works of a few of the most eminent writers, who have contributed to polish and refine the language, and to diffuse a taste for science among their countrymen, will assist in tracing the progress of literature, and ascertaining its present state*.

In this inquiry I shall confine myself principally to two heads: I. History; and II. Poetry.

I. HISTORY.

This empire can boast the earliest historian of the North; for, at a period when Poland, Sweden, and Denmark were unlettered; when even the annalists of Iceland were yet mute, a monk of the convent of Petcherski at Kiof was compiling the history of Russia.

This annalist, whose secular name is not known, was born in 1056 at Bielozero; and in the nineteenth year of his age he assumed the monastick habit in the above-mentioned con-

* Perhaps some little apology would have been thought necessary for the author's presuming to touch upon the literature of a nation, with whose language he professes himself unacquainted; if the subject had not been totally unknown to the English reader, and seemed in a great degree connected with

the plan of this work; if the author had not carefully perused several esteemed translations of the original compositions; and had not always given his criticisms on the authority of those persons who are either natives or perfect masters of the Russian tongue.

vent,

vent, and took the name of Nestor *. At Kiof he made a considerable proficiency in the Greek language : but seems to have formed his style and manner rather from the Byzantine historians, Cedrenus, Zonaras, and Syncellus, than from the antient classics. The time of Nestor's death is not ascertained ; but he is supposed to have lived to an advanced age, and to have died about the year 1115. CHAP. VIII.

His great work is his Chronicle, to which he has prefixed an introduction, which, after a short sketch of the early state of the world taken from the Byzantine writers, contains a geographical description of Russia and the adjacent countries ; an account of the Slavonian nations, their manners, their emigrations from the banks of the Danube, their dispersion, and settlement in the several countries, wherein their descendants are now established. He then enters upon a chronological series of the Russian annals, from the year 858 to about 1113. His style is simple and unadorned, such as suits a mere recorder of facts ; but his chronological exactness, though it renders his narrative dry and tedious, contributes to ascertain the æra and authenticity of the events which he relates †.

It

* For the account of Nestor, see principally Muller, S. R. G. V. p. 6 ; and Schloetzer's Probe Russische Annalen ; which accurate and interesting work I have chiefly followed, as the great source of information relative to the early annalists of Russia.

† A competent judge thus expresses himself with regard to this performance :

" Nestor's chronicle is *unique* in its kind. " For all the other Slavonian people, such " as the Poles, Bohemians, Illyrians, &c. " cannot produce any writer who can in " the smallest degree contend with the Russian annalist in antiquity, minuteness, accuracy, and truth. He was so highly

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" esteemed in Russia, and the subsequent " writers were so convinced of his fidelity, " that, in speaking of the same times, they " adopt his very words, or make only the " smallest alterations.

" I will not prejudice the readers in their " judgement concerning the authenticity " of this annalist ; and I am convinced, that " whoever peruses his work, will at once " do him the justice which he deserves. I " allude to those readers only who do not " acknowledge any other histories than " those which are derived from the most " esteemed sources ; and who know how to " distinguish with critical exactness the pu- " rity

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It is remarkable, that an author of such importance, whose name frequently occurs in the early Russian books, should have remained in obscurity above 600 years; and been scarcely known to his modern countrymen, the origin and actions of whose ancestors he records with such circumstantial exactness. A copy of his chronicle was given in 1668, by prince Radzivil to the library of Konigsburgh, where it lay unnoticed until Peter the Great, in his passage through that town, ordered a transcript of it to be sent to Petersburg. But it still was not known as the performance of Nestor: for when Muller, in 1732, published the first part of a German translation *, he mentioned it as the work of the abbot Theodosius of Kiof; an error which arose from the following circumstance: the ingenious editor, not being at that time sufficiently acquainted with the Slavonian tongue, employed an interpreter, who, by mistaking a letter in the title, supposed it to have been written by a person whose name was Theodosius. This ridiculous blunder was soon circulated, and copied by many foreign writers, even long after it had been candidly acknowledged and corrected by Muller.

" rity of those sources. But I do not address myself to those who have not hitherto been acquainted with any other writers on the early times of the Russian history than Herberstein and Petreus; who place the introduction of the art of writing into Russia so late as the 13th century; who hold the succession of Russian sovereigns to be unknown, at least uncertain, until the time of Ivan Vassilievitch; who consider this long period as totally obscure, in which no chronicle affords a clue to the discerning historian; who draw their whole knowledge of Russian history from Strahlenberg, Voltaire, La Combe, and from the still more

" wretched compilers of the article Russia in the Universal History: These readers will not indeed be easily induced to esteem, as authentick, the relations of a monk, whose writings show the inaccuracy of the above-mentioned authors, and conclude at once their whole account of Russia during the middle ages." Schloetzer, Russ. Ann. p. 32.

* S. R. G. I. p. 1, &c. The real title to this manuscript was, by the " Monk of the Theodosian Convent of Petcherski;" which the interpreter, by mistaking one letter, explained, The Monk Theodosius, of the Convent, &c. See Schloetzer, p. 16.

Nestor was successively followed by three annalists; the first was Sylvester, abbot of the convent of St. Michael at Kiof, and bishop of Perislaſ, who died in 1123: he commences his chronicle from 1115, only two years posterior to that of Nestor, and continues it to 1123; from which period a monk, whose name has not been delivered down to posterity, carries the history to 1157; and another, equally unknown, to 1203. With respect to these performances, Mr. Muller informs us, "the labours of Nestor and his three continuators have produced a connected series of the Russian history so complete, that no nation can boast a similar treasure for so long and unbroken a period *." We may add likewise from the same authority, that these annals record much fewer prodigies and monkish legends, than others which have issued from the cloister in times so unenlightened.

From this period, which terminates in 1203, there is no regular continuation of the Russian history, but many separate and detached annalists: for as the empire was broken into independent principalities, each writer has detailed the events of the particular district in which he flourished. The next general annalist who presents himself to our notice is Cyprian, metropolitan of Russia in the reign of Demetrius Doniki, who began in the 14th century the *Book of Degrees*; so called because it records the history of the empire, arranged according to the order of *descent*: each degree contains the reign of those sovereigns who followed each other in an uninterrupted line; and a new one commences when the throne passed to a collateral branch. This work was continued by the metropolitan Makari, who flourished under Ivan Vassilievitch II. and afterwards by unknown compilers, to the times somewhat posterior to the reign of Feodor Ivanovitch.

* S. R. G. V. p. 6.

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These writings, unlike those of Nestor and his continuators, contain many idle traditions and absurd legends; but the events, which they at the same time record, naturally render them the object of the historian's notice; and Mr. Muller has thought them of sufficient consequence to become their editor.

The chronicle of Nikon, in which he collected a complete series of Russian annalists, from Nestor to the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch, and the extraordinary exertions which he made to diffuse knowledge among his countrymen, have been already related.

The reign of Alexèy was extremely fertile in what was called historical productions, but which in reality are rather dry materials than deserving such an honourable appellation. It would be tedious to enumerate the various chronicles, journals of the court, books of genealogy, publick records, state-papers, and other similar sources of information, both of his and succeeding times, which the libraries contain in such abundance as to astonish a stranger, who by false representations may have been misled to conceive that the Russians are deficient in such original documents.

Among the persons who, posterior to Nikon, have mostly contributed to promote science by their example and protection; to whom Russia is chiefly indebted for the introduction of polite literature; and who may be classed among the historians, must not be omitted Theophanes Prokopovitch, metropolitan archbishop of Novogorod. This learned prelate, who is here mentioned as the author of a Life of Peter the Great, was the son of a burgher of Kiof: he was born in that city on the 9th of June, 1681, and was baptized by the name of Elisha. Under his uncle Theophanes, rector of the seminary in the Bratkoï Convent at Kiof, he commenced

his studies, and was well grounded in the rudiments of the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew tongues. Though his uncle died in 1692, he completed his education in that seminary; and in 1698, in the eighteenth year of his age, he travelled into Italy. He resided three years at Rome, where, beside a competent knowledge of the Italian, he acquired a taste for the fine arts, and improved himself in philosophy and divinity. CHAP.
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Upon his return to Kiof, he read lectures on the Latin and Slavonian art of poetry in the same seminary in which he had been educated; and, having assumed the monastick habit, he changed his name to Theophanes. Before he had attained the 25th year of his age, he was appointed præfect, the second office in the seminary, and professor of philosophy. In 1706 he distinguished himself by speaking a Latin oration before Peter the Great; and still more by a sermon which, in 1709, he preached before the same monarch after the battle of Pultava. Having once attracted the notice, he soon acquired the protection of Peter, who was so captivated with his great talents, superior learning, and polite address, as to select him for a companion in the ensuing campaign against the Turks:—a sure prelude to his future advancement. In 1711 Theophanes was nominated abbot of the monastery of Bratskoi, rector of the seminary, and professor of divinity. His censures against the ignorance and indolence of the Russian clergy, and his endeavours to promote a taste for polite literature among his brethren, rendered him a fit instrument in the hands of Peter for the reformation of the church, and the final abolition of the patriarchal dignity. He was placed at the head of the synod, of which ecclesiastical establishment he himself drew the plan; was created in 1718 bishop of Plescof; and in 1720 archbishop of the same diocese: soon after the accession of Catharine he was consecrated.

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V. consecrated archbishop of Novogorod and metropolitan of all
Russia; and died in 1736.

Beside various sermons and theological disquisitions, he wrote a treatise on rhetorick, and on the rules for Latin and Slavonian poetry; he composed verses in the Latin language; and was author of a work, for which he is chiefly mentioned in this place, the Life of Peter the Great, which unfortunately terminates with the battle of Pultava. In this performance the prelate has, notwithstanding his natural partiality to his benefactor, avoided those scurrilous abuses of the contrary party, which frequently disgrace the best histories; and has been particularly candid in his account of Sophia.

Peter, from a well-grounded experience, had formed such a good opinion of the talents of Theophanes, as to employ him in composing the decrees which concerned theological questions, and even many which related to civil affairs.

Theophanes may be said, not only to have cultivated the sciences, and to have promoted them during his life, but likewise to have left a legacy to his countrymen, for their further progress after his decease, by maintaining in his episcopal palace sixty boys, whose education he superintended: under his auspices they were instructed in foreign languages, and in various branches of polite knowledge, which had been hitherto censured by many as profane acquisitions; thus transmitting the rays of learning to illuminate future ages and a distant posterity *.

* For the history of Theophanes I have followed implicitly Muller, whose fidelity and accuracy always appear to me unquestionable. See S. R. G. V. p. 564. Monf. Le Clerc differs from Mr. Muller in relating the earliest part of this prelate's life. He also informs us, that Theophanes persuaded Peter to introduce the protestant religion into Russia; and that the emperor was inclined to follow his advice, but was prevented by his death. This important anecdote I could not, however, venture to adopt, though I cannot controvert it, as the ingenious author has not cited his authority. See Le Clerc's Hist. An. de Russie, p. 292; and Hist. Mod. p. 65. 66.

Hitherto,

Hitherto, though Russia abounded in chronicles and annals relative to detached periods, yet, excepting a dry detail of facts compiled for the use of Alexéy Michaelovitch, it possessed no regular and connected history. The first attempt towards such a work was undertaken by prince Khilkof. This nobleman * descended from a very antient family had distinguished himself as embassador to several foreign courts, before he was sent in 1700 to Stockholm in that capacity. He accompanied Charles XII. in his descent upon the Isle of Zealand, and upon the ensuing truce of Travendal between Sweden and Denmark returned to Stockholm on the 17th of September, at the eve of the rupture which broke out between the Swedish and Russian monarchs. His character of embassador, deemed sacred by the law of nations, could not protect him from the resentment of Charles XII.; and, on the 20th of the same month, he was arrested and imprisoned.

As an amusement during his captivity, which was long and for some time extremely rigorous, and at the request of his fellow-prisoner prince Trubetskoi, he began an abridgement of the Russian History from its earliest period to his own time; which he completed before he was restored to liberty. After a confinement of eighteen years, he expired in his prison of Westeras, in the moment when he was upon the point of being released. His work, called the Kernel of the Russian History, is a mere abridgement, and was published in 1770 by Mr. Muller. It forms only one volume in octavo, and contains seven books: the first commences with the creation of the world, and ends with the erection of the Russian empire under Ruric; the remaining six carry down the history from that period to the year 1713. During some part of his confinement, he was permitted to receive from Mos-

* See Bach, Russ. Bib. for 1777, p. 78 to 87.

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cow books, extracts from chronicles, and a few state-papers; but as he could not obtain the necessary documents as well as if he had been upon the spot, his performance unavoidably contains occasional errors, many of which the judicious editor has pointed out and corrected.

About the time of Khilkof's death, another native commenced a similar work upon a much larger scale, and who had more opportunities of obtaining information. This person was Vassili Tatishchef, who, in 1720, began to collect materials for a complete history of Russia; and continued his researches without intermission for the space of 30 years. The indefatigable compiler finished his account to the reign of Feodor Ivanovitch: and was bringing it down to this century, when death put a period to his labours. Part of this great work was consumed in a fire; and the remainder was published after the author's death by Mr. Muller. It consists of three large volumes in quarto. The first contains several curious dissertations relative to the antiquity of the Slavonian nation; while the second and third comprise the history of the Russian empire, from its earliest origin to the year 1237.

It can hardly be called a regular history, but is rather a connected series of chronicles, whose antiquated Slavonian dialects are only changed into the Russian idiom; and the author is justly censured for not regularly citing the various annalists as he abridges or new models them, and for not assigning the reasons which induced him to prefer the writers whose relations he has adopted, to those which he has rejected*.

* Bach. Russ. Bib. for 1774, p. 43; also for 1775, p. 216. L'Evesque, Vol. I. p. xxxi.

Since

Since Tatishchev, several writers* have published collections of state-papers and other documents; but the honour of composing a complete history of this country is probably reserved for prince Sherebatof, who, if we except Mr. Muller, has contributed more than any other person towards illustrating the Russian annals. CHAP.
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This learned nobleman is editor of the following works: A journal of Peter the Great in 2 vols. quarto, which he found in the archives, and published by order of the empress. It consists of eight books, five of which were corrected by Peter himself. The first volume begins with the insurrection of the Strelitz in 1698; and finishes with the year 1714; and the second concludes with the peace of Nyftadt in 1721. The learned editor has added several remarks, and some important pieces from the Russian archives.—The Russian History, by an Antient Annalist, from the beginning of the reign of Volodimir Monomoka in 1114, to 1472, in which the author particularly dwells upon the civil feuds in the city of Novogorod, and its subjection to Ivan Vassilievitch I.—The Life of Peter the Great, in the Russian language, first published at Venice; which the prince reprinted in 1774, and, according to his usual custom, enriched with many historical observations.—His own works are, an Account of the Russian Impostors: amongst these is the Life of Demetrius, which is chiefly drawn from the same sources as those which Mr. Muller consulted in his relation of the same period.—But this noble author's great work now comes under consideration,

* Particularly Novikof, in his antient Russian Library, in ten volumes, a work thus characterised by L'Evesque: "Recueil de pieces originales et authentiques, tirées des cabinets et des archives: on y trouve des morceaux très importantes." Vol. I. xxiv. The academy of sciences

has also published an Historical Journal every month, from 1755 to 1765. It consists of 20 volumes, octavo, and contains "un grand nombre de morceaux historiques très intéressans, dont la plupart ont été composés par le savant Muller." Ibid.

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his History of Russia, from the earliest times. He has already published 3 volumes in quarto, which finish with the reign of Demetrius Donfki, who died in 1389. The fourth volume was in the press in the year 1778; but I am not certain whether it has yet made its appearance. I have read with great pleasure the German translation of this performance, which appears to me a most valuable addition to the history of the North. The author has had access to the imperial archives; he draws his information from the most antient and unquestionable sources; is particularly exact in quoting his authorities; and ranges the events in chronological series with great perspicuity. An author, who, having consulted many of the same chronicles which are cited by this historian, and who having given to the publick the most complete history of Russia yet extant, is no incompetent judge of Sherebatof's merit, thus speaks of this work: "L'Auteur cite toujours ces autorités. J'ai vérifié un grand nombre de ses citations, et j'ai reconnu par tout son exactitude. Si le premier caractère d'un historien est l'amour de la vérité, ce prince mérite de grands éloges *."

Although this disquisition is confined to the native writers, yet I cannot avoid in this place cursorily mentioning Voltaire's Life of Peter the Great, as it is the work from which most foreign nations have formed their ideas of Russia; which many French and English authors have servilely copied until it is considered as a standard book, to which we may refer as to the most unquestionable authority; and particularly as the author informs us in the Preface: "*La cour de Petersbourg, &c. a fait parvenir à l'historien chargé de cet ouv-*

* "The author always cites his authorities. I have verified a great number of his references, and have always discovered his

"accuracy. If the first character of an historian is the love of truth, the prince deserves the greatest praise."

*"rage tous les documens autentiques. Il n'a écrit que sur des
"preuves incontestables."*

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But the well-informed Russians, although this work idolizes their hero Peter I. do not scruple to confess, that it is a very inaccurate performance, and by no means deserving the encomium which, according to the prevalent taste of the age, is indiscriminately and unhappily bestowed upon all Voltaire's productions. It is a panegyrick rather than a history, in which many principal facts are omitted or disguised; where every defect in the principal character is softened, and every virtue exaggerated: and indeed, when we consider the cause for which it was compiled, and the person from whom the materials were chiefly transmitted, we shall the less wonder at any deficiency in the execution.

The truth is, that the elegant author wrote this life by desire of the empress Elizabeth, who conferred upon him a considerable present for his trouble, and by whose orders he received the principal materials. Hence it may easily be conjectured, that nothing would be communicated which could reflect the smallest discredit, either upon Peter or Catharine I. He was too partial and interested to consult truth, and was unwilling to insert any circumstance which might be displeasing to Elizabeth. His genius was fettered by these restraints; the picture accordingly which he has drawn of Peter I. is almost as devoid of animation as of resemblance; and this sketch is the least entertaining, as well as the most inaccurate, of all his historical pieces.

But frequently also in regard to those events which did not interfere with Elizabeth's prejudices, he certainly either did not examine, or did not follow, some of the best and most authentick materials which had been sent from Petersburg*.

* Busching has published in the third volume of his Historical Magazine: "Me-

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From these circumstances we may fairly assent to the truth of the censure passed by the lively writer upon his own performance when he said, "*Je ferai graver sur ma tombe, cy git qui a voulu écrire l'histoire de Pierre le Grand**."

II. POETRY.

With respect to the Russian poetry previous to this century, the only specimens were a few ancient songs, some occasional copies of verses, and a psalter, composed by the monk Simeon Polotski, and printed at Moscow in 1680. To use the expressions of the epick writer Kheraskof, "the Muses waited till the reign of Peter the Great, in order to make their appearance in Russia: before his time there were indeed a few poets, but their compositions were more rhymes than verses; and even during his reign the art was still in its infancy. At length came Lomonozof †," &c. Theophanes had indeed read lectures upon the rules for Slavonian or Russian verses; prince Kantemir, Ilinski, Trediatoffski, and a few others, had composed, but there were certainly no poets of eminence before Lomonozof and Sumorokof. A

"moire abrégé sur la vie du Tsarevitch Alexèi Petrovitch." This memoir, says the editor, was sent to Voltaire before he began to write his History of Russia: it will serve as a proof, how little that writer employed the authentick papers transmitted to him. Vol. III. p. 194. Mr. Muller also charges Voltaire with not paying sufficient attention to the papers which he communicated from the most undoubted authorities. "Tout le monde est d'accord, &c. Buf. XVI. p. 352. que l'Histoire de Pierre le Grand de Voltaire n'a point rempli l'attente qu'on en avait avant qu'elle parut au jour. On s'en aperçut même avant la publication par les échantillons, que l'auteur envoyoit à St. Peterbourg en Msscript. Je fus prié de faire là dessus des remarques. Je le fis: mais M. Voltaire n'eut pas la patience d'en profiter:

"tant se hata-t-il à faire imprimer le I. Tome. Après la publication je continuai mes remarques. Tout ce la fut envoyé à l'auteur. C'est à l'aide de ces remarques que M. Voltaire dans la Preface du II. Tome vient de corriger quelques légères fautes qu'il avoit commises dans le premier. Il en a excusé d'autres. Il a payer de duretés. Il a eu garde sur tout de ne point toucher à des faits qui le feroient rougir. Voilà ce que c'est qu'un auteur qui ne veut avoir tort." See B. H. M. XVI. p. 352.

* Cited by L'Evesque, vol. I. p. xxx. "Here lies the person who *would* have written the History of Peter the Great."

† Preface to Kheraskof's Poem on the Battle of Tchefme, quoted in Bach. Russ. Bib. for 1774, p. 201.

sketch

sketch therefore of the lives and writings of these two authors, a short account of the Russian stage, and a few remarks on the compositions of Kheraskof, will convey to the reader some idea of the rise, progress, and present state, of poetry in this empire. CHAP.
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Lomonozof *, the great refiner of his native tongue, was the son of a person who trafficked in fish at Kolmogori: he was born in 1711, and was fortunately taught to read; a rare instance for a person of so low a station in Russia. His natural genius for poetry was first kindled by the perusal of the Song of Solomon, done into verse by Polotski, whose rude compositions, perhaps scarcely superior to our version of the Psalms by Sternhold and Hopkins, inspired him with such an irresistible passion for the muses, that he fled from his father, who was desirous of compelling him to marry, and took refuge in the Kaikonospaski monastery at Moscow; there he had an opportunity of indulging his taste for letters, and of studying the Greek and Latin languages. In this seminary he made so considerable a progress in polite literature, as to be noticed and employed by the Imperial Academy of Sciences. In 1736 he was sent, at the expence of that society, to the university of Marburgh† in Hesse Cassel, where he became a scholar of the celebrated Christian Wolf, under whom he studied universal grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy. He continued at Marburgh four years, during which time he applied himself with indefatigable diligence to chymistry, which he afterwards pursued with still greater success, under the famous Henckel, at Freyberg in Saxony. In 1741 he

* Le Clerc Hist. Mod. p. 70.

† Le Clerc says Magdebourg, which is no university: I presume it is a false print,

for Marburgh, where Wolf was professor of mathematicks and philosophy, from the year 1723 to 1741.

returned

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returned into Russia; was chosen in 1742 adjunct to the imperial academy; and in the ensuing year member of that society, and professor of chymistry. In 1760 he was appointed inspector of the seminary, then annexed to the academy; in 1764 he was gratified by the present empress with the title of counsellor of state; and died on the 4th of April that year, in the 54th year of his age.

Lomonozof excelled in various kinds of compositions; but his chief merit, by which he bears the first rank among the Russian writers, is derived from his poetical compositions, the finest of which are his odes. The first was written in 1739, while he studied in Germany, upon the taking of Kotschin, a fortress of Crim Tartary, by marshal Munich. The odes of Lomonozof are greatly admired for originality of invention, sublimity of sentiment, and energy of language; and compensate for the turgid style which, in some instances, has been imputed to them, by that spirit and fire, which are the principal characteristics in this species of composition. Pindar was his great model; and if we may give credit to a person * well versed in the Russian tongue, he has succeeded in this daring attempt to imitate the Theban bard, without incurring the censure of Horace †.

In this, as well as several other species of composition, he enriched his native language with various kinds of metre, and seems to have merited the appellation bestowed upon him of, the Father of Russian Poetry.

A brief recapitulation of the principal works of Lomonozof, which were printed in three volumes octavo, will

* L'Evesque, who says of him, "Il est peut-être le seul émule de Pindare." L'Ode de Lomonosof fit connoître aux Russes les véritables règles de la harmonie.
† "Pindarum quisquis studet æmulari," &c. Le Clerc.

serve to show the versatility of his genius, and his extensive knowledge in various branches of literature.

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The first volume, beside a preface on the advantages derived to the Russian tongue from the ecclesiastical writings, contains ten sacred and nineteen panegyrick odes, and several occasional pieces of poetry.

The second comprises an Essay in Prose, on the rules for Russian poetry; translation of a German Ode; Idylls; Tamira and Selim, a tragedy; Demophoon, a tragedy; Poetical Epistle on the Utility of Glass; two cantos of an epick Poem, entitled Peter the Great; a congratulatory copy of verses; an Ode; translation of Baptist Rousseau's ode, *Sur le Bonheur*; Heads of a Course of Lectures on Natural Philosophy; certain passages translated in verse and prose, according to the original, from Cicero, Erasmus, Lucian, Ælian, Ammianus Marcellinus, Quintus Curtius, Homer, Virgil, Martial, Ovid, Horace, and Seneca, which Russian translations were brought as examples in his Lectures upon Rhetorick; lastly, description of the Comet which appeared in 1744.

The third volume consists chiefly of speeches and treatises read before the academy; panegyrick on the empress Elizabeth; on Peter the Great; treatise on the advantages of chymistry; on the phænomena of the air occasioned by the electrical fire, with a Latin translation of the same; on the origin of light, as a new theory of colours; methods to determine with precision the course of a vessel; on the origin of metals by the means of earthquakes; Latin dissertation on solidity and fluidity; on the Transit of Venus in 1761, with a German translation*.

Beside these various subjects, Lomonozof made no inconsiderable figure in history, having published two small works relative to that of his own country. The first, styled Annals of the Russian Sovereigns, is a short chronology of the Russian monarchs; and the second is the Antient History of Russia, from the origin of that nation to the death of the great-duke Yaroslav I. in 1054; a performance of great merit, as it illustrates the most difficult and obscure period in the annals of this country.

* Mr. Damaskin, who published this complete edition of Lomonozof's works, received from the empress a present of £100. See *Rus. Bib.* for 1780, p. 338.

Alexander

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V.

Alexander Sumorokof, who is justly denominated the founder of the Russian theatre, was the person who, after Lomonozof, principally contributed to refine the poetry of his country. But before I enter upon a detail of his life and writings, I shall premise a short account of the Russian stage, as well because a view of the state in which Sumorokof found the national theatre * will display his powers in dramatick composition, as because the history of the stage in any country forms no inconsiderable part of the true history of its literature.

Before the æra of Peter the Great, almost the only † dramatick representations in Russia were exhibited in the monasteries of Kiof and Moscow, where the students performed occasionally an *Actus Oratorius*, or a scriptural history.

The learned Demetrius Tooptalo ‡, metropolitan archbishop of Rostof, was highly distinguished among the literati for composing, in the prevailing taste of those times, the following scriptural histories in verse. The Sinner, an allegory.—Esther and Ahafuerus.—The Birth of Christ.—And the Resurrection of Christ. In the beginning of this century these pieces became the fashionable representations; and were not only performed in convents, but were acted at court, even so late as the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.

The students of surgery in the hospital at Moscow seem to have given the first publick performance exhibited by any

* It does not enter into my plan to trace the introduction and progress of the German, Italian, and French players in Russia. I shall only observe, that in the reign of Peter the Great the first set of German actors played at Peterburgh; that some Italian performers first made their appearance in 1730; and the French comedians in 1742. For further information on this subject, the reader is referred to Staehlin's

Gef. des Theaters in Russland, in Haygold, or Schloetzer's Beylage, vol. I. p. 400.

† We may except the representations at court during the minority of Peter the Great, when some of Moliere's plays, translated into the Russian tongue, were acted in the Ikonospatskoi Convent: among other persons of distinction, the princess Sophia performed a part.

‡ He died in 1709.

of the laity in the great-hall, where they raised a stage, and used screens for the scenery. Mr. Staehlin *, who was present at one of these plays, the subject of which was Tamerlane, informs us, that nothing could be more grotesque and ridiculous ; and relates an instance of most profane ribaldry introduced into one of the scriptural pieces too gross to be mentioned. The same ingenious author remembers to have seen at Petersburg the empressees grooms act in a still more wretched manner, either in the hay-loft of the imperial stables, or in an unfurnished house. Actors of this sort used also to perform every year for the amusement of the common people : they had no regular theatre, but were accustomed to play in different parts of the city. At dusk a paper lantern was hung from the window, and two huntmen's horns were blown, in order to announce a comedy for that evening. The entrance money was from $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2d. and the spectators usually remained two hours to see and hear every species of nonsense and ribaldry. Such was the state of the Russian stage when Sumorokof brought out his first tragedy of Koref.

About the same time the first regular Russian theatre was opened at Yaroslaf, under the direction of the celebrated actor Feodor Volkof, the Garrick of Russia, whose talents for the stage were as great as those of Sumorokof for dramatick composition. This surprising genius was son of a tradesman at Yaroslaf, and was born in 1729 ; having discovered very early proofs of great abilities, he was sent for his education to Moscow, where he learnt the German tongue, musick, and drawing. His father dying, and his mother marrying a second husband, who had established a

* See Geschichte des Theaters in Russland, from which ingenious treatise I have principally taken this account of the Russian stage.

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manufacture of salt-petre and sulphur, he applied himself to that trade; and going upon the business of his father-in-law to Petersburg about the year 1748, his natural inclination for the stage led him to frequent the German plays, and to form an intimate acquaintance with some of the actors.

Upon his return to Yaroslaf, he constructed a stage in a large apartment at his father-in-law's house; painted the scenes himself; and, with the assistance of his four brothers, acted several times before a large assembly. Their first performances were the scriptural histories composed by the archbishop of Rostof; these were succeeded by the tragedies of Lomonozof and Sumorokof, and sometimes satirical farces of their own composition against the inhabitants of Yaroslaf. As the spectators were admitted *gratis* at every representation, his father-in-law objected to the expence. Accordingly Volkof constructed in 1750, after his own plan, a large theatre, partly by subscription, and partly at his own risk: having supplied it with scenes, which he painted himself, and dresses, which he assisted in making; and having procured an additional number of actors, whom he regularly instructed, he and his troop performed with great applause before crowded audiences, who cheerfully paid for their admission.

In 1752 the empress Elizabeth, informed of their success, summoned them to Petersburg, where they represented in the theatre of the court the tragedies of Sumorokof. In order to form the new troop to a greater degree of perfection, the four principal actors were placed in the seminary of the cadets*, where they remained four years. At the conclusion

* Staehlin says that Volkof was amongst these; but Le Clerc asserts, "L'Impératrice fit placer les acteurs au corps des cadets, Volkof excepté. Celui-ci se voyant

"privé de ses compagnons, s'amusa à faire des Marionnettes; tant le penchant naturel a de puissance sur l'homme." p. 80.

of that period, a regular Russian theatre was established at the court, three actresses were admitted, Sumorokof was appointed director, and £1000 was allowed for the actors. Beside this salary, they were permitted to perform once a week to the publick, and the admission-money was distributed among them without deduction, as the lights, musick, and dresses were provided at the expence of the empresses. CHAP.
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The chief performances were the tragedies and comedies of Sumorokof, and translations from Moliere and other French writers. The company continued to flourish under the patronage of Catharine II. and the salaries of the actors were gradually encreased to £2200 per annum. Volkof and his brother were ennobled, and received from their imperial mistress estates in land: he performed, for the last time, at Moscow, in the tragedy of Zemira, a short time before his death, which happened in 1763, in the 35th year of his age. He equally excelled in tragedy and comedy; and his principal merit consisted in characters of madness. He was tolerably versed in musick, and was no indifferent poet.

His friend Sumorokof paid the following tribute to the memory of a person who had done ample justice to his dramatick compositions. “ Melpomene unite thy tears
“ with mine.—Lament, and tear thy locks.—My friend is
“ dead.—Adieu, my friend—sorrow penetrates and dissolves
“ my soul.—The source of Hippocrene is frozen.—O Russia!
“ you possessed a second Racine! but the new theatre is al-
“ ready tottering from its foundations; and all the labours
“ of a century are destroyed! Volkof is separated from the
“ muses for ever.—Tragedy has lost her buskin and her
“ poignard.—Melpomene bedew his tomb with thy tears *.”

* Le Clerc, p. 81.

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The prophecy, however, of Sumorokof, which his enthusiasm for the theatrical abilities of this great actor, or his affection for the memory of his friend, led him to utter, is far from being fulfilled. The stage, though it has suffered a considerable loss by the death of Volkof, still subsists and prospers under the auspices and protection of her present majesty; and from the specimens which I saw among the foundlings at Moscow, and in other seminaries, there seems no reason to apprehend the want of a future supply.

To return from this digression, Alexander Sumorokof was the son of Peter Sumorokof, a Russian nobleman, and was born at Moscow on the 14th of November, 1727*. He received the first rudiments of learning in his father's house, where, beside a grammatical knowledge of his native tongue, he was well grounded in the Latin language. Being removed to the seminary of the Cadets at St. Peterburgh, he prosecuted his studies with unwearied application, and gave very early proofs of his genius for poetry. Even on holidays he would retire from his companions, who were engaged in play, and devote his whole time to the perusal of the Latin and French writers; nor was it long before he himself attempted to compose.

The first efforts of his genius were love-songs, whose tenderness and beauties, till then unexpressed in the Russian tongue, were greatly admired, and considered as certain prognosticks of his future fame. Upon quitting the seminary, he was appointed adjutant, first to count Golovkin, and afterwards to count Rosomouski; and being soon noticed and patronized by count Ivan Shuvalof, he was introduced by that Mæcenas to the empress Elizabeth, who took him under her

* This account of Sumorokof is chiefly taken from "Kurze Nachricht von den Leben und der Schriften des, Alexander Petrowitch Sumorokof," in Journ. St. Pet. for 1778.

protection. About the 29th year of his age, an enthusiastick fondness he had contracted for the works of Racine turned his genius to the drama, and he wrote the tragedy of Koref, which laid the foundation of the Russian theatre. CHAP. VIII.

This piece was first acted by some of his former school-mates the cadets, who had previously exercised their talents in declamations, and in acting a French play. The empress Elizabeth, informed of this new phænomenon in the theatrical world, ordered the tragedy to be exhibited in her presence upon a small theatre of the court, where German, Italian, and French plays had been performed. The applause and distinction which the author received on this occasion, encouraged him to follow the bent of his genius; and he produced successively Hamlet, Aristona, Sinaf and Truvor, Zemira, Dimisa, Vitshelaf, the False Demetrius, and Micislaf. Nor was his muse less fertile in comedies; which are, Trifotinus; the Judge; the Dispute between the Husband and Wife; the Guardian; the Portion acquired by Fraud; the Envious Man; Tartuffe; the Imaginary Cuckold; the Mother who rivals her Daughter; the Gossip; and the Three Rival Brothers. He wrote also the operas of Alcestes, and Cephalus and Procris.

With respect to his tragedies Racine * was his model; and the Russian biographer of Sumorokof, who seems a competent judge of his merit, allows, that "though in some instances he has attained all the excellence of the French

* "Elegant comme Racine il tâcha d'imiter la conduite de ses plans; mais il ne pût pénétrer le secret de notre inimitable poète. Il voulut être sage comme lui, il fut froid, et sa scène manqua du mouvement." L'Evesque, V. p. 342.

"En voulant rapprocher de Racine dans la conduite de ses plans, Sumorokof s'éloigna dans l'action; souvent il est froid

"dans les scènes où Racine électrise les cœurs et les âmes. Les vers tragiques de Sumorokof approchent de la douceur, de l'élégance, et de l'harmonie de ceux de Racine, mais il s'en faut bien qu'ils en aient l'âme." Le Clerc, p. 76.

His tragedies are written in rhyme, in the Alexandrine verse, the same as the French Heroick. His comedies are in prose.

"poet,

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“poet, yet he has failed in many others; but it would be
 “uncandid to insist upon such defects in a writer who first
 “introduced the drama among his countrymen. The French
 “overlook in their Corneille still greater faults.” “His
 “comedies,” continues the same author, “contain much
 “humour; but I do not imagine that our dramattick writers
 “will adopt him for their model: for he frequently excites
 “the laughter of the spectator at the expence of his cooler
 “judgement*. Nevertheless, they present sufficient pas-
 “sages to prove, that he would have attained a greater de-
 “gree of perfection in this line, if he had paid more atten-
 “tion to paint our manners, and to follow the taste of the
 “best foreign writers.”

Beside dramattick writings, Sumorokof attempted every species of poetry, excepting the epick. He wrote love-songs, idyls, fables, satires, anacreonticks, elegies, versions of the Psalms, and Pindarick odes. Superior to Lomonozof† in the compositions of the drama, he was yet inferior to him in Pindarick writings. “Though his odes,” adds his biographer, “are distinguished by their easy flow of versification, by their harmony, softness, and grace, yet they are
 “far from reaching that elevation and fire which charac-

* Weil es auch ein Lachen giebt, nach welchem der Zuschauer nicht wohl mit sich selbst Zufrieden ist dafs er gelacht hat. Literally, “Since he occasions a laughter, at which the spectator is not well satisfied that he has laughd.” Does the biographer mean by this passage, that the wit of Sumorokof was often too farcical, and degenerated too much into a low species of humour? If so, let the author answer for himself. In a letter to Voltaire, he complains that his countrymen had begun to adopt that wretched species of composition, the sentimental comedy, instead of the wit and humour of Moliere; and Voltaire

agreed with him in the following words: “Je souscris entièrement à tout ce que vous dites de Moliere et de la comédie Larmoyante, qui à la honte de la nation a succédé au seul vrai genre comique porté à perfection par l’inimitable Moliere.” Bach. Russ. Bib. for 1778, p. 153.

† There was an unfortunate rivalry between these two poets: each wished to excel in the other’s line; and each failed in the attempt. The account of this rivalry between Lomonozof and Sumorokof might unfortunately add another article for the author of *Les Querelles Littéraires*.

“terize

“terize those of Lomonozof. These two great poets had
 “each their peculiar talents: the one displayed in his style
 “all the majesty, strength, and sublimity of the Russian
 “tongue; and the other all its harmony, softness, and ele-
 “gance. The elegies of Sumorokof are full of tenderness:
 “his idyls give a true picture of the pastoral life in all the
 “pleasing simplicity of unimproved nature without descend-
 “ing to vulgarity; and may serve as models in this species of
 “composition in all things excepting in strict morality. His
 “satires are the best in the Russian language, but are ex-
 “tremely unequal, and deserve to have been wrought with
 “more plan and regularity. In writing his fables his pen
 “seems to have been guided by the Muses and Graces*; and
 “I do not hesitate, if not to prefer them, at least to compare
 “them with those of Fontaine.”

Sumorokof was also author of a few short and detached historical pieces. A Chronicle of Moscow, in which he relates the origin of that city; and abridges the reigns of its monarchs from Ivan Danilovitch to Feodor Alexievitch.—A History of the first insurrection of the Strelitz in 1682, by which Ivan was appointed joint-sovereign with Peter the Great, and the princess Sophia regent.—An account of Stenko Razin's rebellion. His style in these pieces is said to be clear and perspicuous, but somewhat too flowery and poetical for prose.

Sumorokof obtained by his merit the favour and protection of his sovereign. Elizabeth gave him the rank of brigadier; appointed him director of the Russian theatre, and settled upon him a pension of £400 per annum. Catharine II.

* This opinion seems to be general: p. 342.
 “Mais tous les applaudissements se font
 “réunis en faveur de ces fables. On ne
 “peut leur refuser la première place après
 “celles de la Fontaine.” L'Evesque, v. V. p. 77.
 “Ses fables peuvent être comparées à ce
 “qu'on a fait de mieux dans ce genre, de-
 “puis l'inimitable La Fontaine.” Le Clerc,

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created him counsellor of state; conferred upon him the order of St. Anne; and honoured him with many instances of munificence and distinction until his death, which carried him off at Moscow, on the 1st of October, 1777, in the 51st year of his age.

“ With respect to his disposition,” says his biographer, “ this celebrated poet seems to have possessed a good and “ amiable heart; but his extreme sensibility, an excellent “ quality in a poet when tempered with philosophy, occasi- “ oned that singularity and vehemence of character, which “ gave so much trouble and uneasiness to all his acquaint- “ ance, but particularly to himself. He was polite and con- “ descending towards those who treated him with respect, “ but haughty to those who behaved to him with pride. “ He knew no deceit; he was a true friend, and an open “ enemy; and could neither forget an obligation nor an injury. “ Passionate, and frequently inconsiderate in his pursuits, he “ could not bear the least opposition; and oftentimes looked “ upon the most trifling circumstance as the greatest evil. “ His extraordinary fame, the many favours which the “ empress conferred upon him, the indulgence and venera- “ tion of his friends, might have made him extremely for- “ tunate, if he had understood the art of being so.

“ He had conceived a great, perhaps too great, an idea of “ the character and merits of a true poet; and could not “ endure to see with patience this noble and much-esteemed “ art, which had been consecrated by Homer, Virgil, and “ other great men, profaned by persons without judgement “ or abilities. These pretenders, he would say, shock the “ publick with their nonsense in rhyme; and clothe their “ monstrous conceptions in the dress of the Muses. The “ publick recoil from them with disgust and aversion; and, “ deceived

“deceived by their appearance, treat with irreverence those
“children of heaven the true Muses.”

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The examples of Lomonozof and Sumorokof have tended to diffuse a spirit of poetry, and a taste for polite learning among the Russians, and they are succeeded by a numerous band of poets *. Of these I shall only mention one writer, who has distinguished himself by composing the first Epick Poem in the Russian tongue.

Michael Kheraskof, a person of a noble family, has excelled in several species of composition. His works are, a Poem upon the Utility of Science ; several tragedies and comedies ; Pindarick odes, Anacreonticks, fables, idyls, and satires ; a romance, called Ariadne in Thebes ; Numa Pompilius ; a poem in four cantos, in honour of the naval victory over the Turks at the battle of Tchefme ; but the piece by which he has acquired the greatest fame, is an epick poem in twelve cantos, called the Rossiada, written in Iambick measure of six feet in rhyme. Its subject is the conquest of Casan by Ivan Vassilievitch II. or, as the author has expressed himself, “ I sing
“ Russia delivered from the yoke of barbarians ; the might of
“ the Tartars laid low, and their pride humbled : I sing the
“ strifes and bloody conflicts of antient armies ; Russia’s tri-
“ umph ; and Casan’s subjection.” This work is greatly admired by the natives ; and may justly be considered as forming an epoch in the history of their poetry. The general plan seems well disposed † ; the events follow each other in a rapid but orderly succession ; and the imagination of the reader is kept alive by frequent scenes of terror, in which the author

* Many of these are enumerated by Mr. Le Clerc. Hist. Mod. p. 78 to 98.

† An account of this poem in the German tongue is given in the Journal of St. Petersburg for 1779, vol. I. p. 388. in which the contents of each canto are mi-

nutely delineated. I had once begun a translation of this Review, and of the contents of each canto, with a design of presenting it to the reader ; but desisted, as the materials for this work were much more extensive than I had at first reason to apprehend.

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seems particularly to excel. The subject is extremely interesting to the Russians; and the poet has artfully availed himself of the popular belief by the introduction of saints and martyrs for the machinery of his poem.

Mr. Le Clerc informs us, that this poem, while it contains several striking passages of great beauty, is in many parts deficient in harmony; a defect, he adds, which the author, by retouching and correcting, is capable of removing.

Mr. Kheraskof has not in the present reign failed of acquiring the rewards due to his extraordinary talents; having been successively appointed vice-president of the college of mines, counsellor of state, and curator of the university of Moscow.

Lomonozof is a rare, and perhaps a single instance of any Russian of low degree, who was not an ecclesiastick, that has attained, from so mean a condition, to great eminence in literature. But it is probable, that such examples will soon cease to be uncommon; since the schools, instituted by Catharine in every province of her wide-extended empire, will facilitate the acquisition of learning among the lower class of people; since the zeal for inquiry is spread among the natives; and honour and promotion are known by experience to be the certain attendants on literary acquisitions. Indeed, such is the spirit with which the empress protects and encourages learning, that scarcely any work of merit makes its appearance, for which the author does not instantly receive some mark of distinction or liberality.

In order to spread a taste of literature among her subjects, Catharine appointed, in 1768, a committee to order and superintend translations of the classics, and the best modern authors, into the Russian tongue; and allowed £1000 per annum towards defraying the expence of such undertakings.

The

The following is a list of the translations which had made their appearance before the 8th of July, 1774*.

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Homer's *Batrachomyomachia*; Characters of Theophrastus; Ælian; Herodian; Diodorus Siculus; Terence; Cicero *De Finibus*; Cæsar's Commentaries; Three Epistles of Ovid; his *Metamorphoses* in prose; Tacitus *de Moribus Germanorum*; Paterculus; Valerius Maximus; Stritter's *Memoriæ populorum olim ad Danubium incolentium e Script. Byzan. Hist. erutæ*; Muller's Account of the Ancient Inhabitants of Russia; Gmelin's Travels through Russia; Pallas's Travels through Russia; His Prussian Majesty's Treatise on the Reason for making and repealing Laws; Montesquieu's *Considerations sur la grandeur et la decadence des Romains*; his *Lyfimaque, Dialogue de Sylia et d'Eucrate, Essai sur le Gout*, and *Temple de Guide*; Dimsdale's Treatise on Inoculation; Chalotais *sur l'Education*; History and Treatises of the Amsterdam Society for recovery of Drowned Persons; The Ottoman Empire; Republick of Ragusa, Great-Britain, Portugal, Kingdom of Prussia, from Busching's Geography; Voltaire's *Candide*; a Dialogue of St. Evremond between three persons of different sentiments; various articles from the *Encyclopedie*; Justi's *Foundation of the Power and Happiness of States*; Calliere *De la maniere de negocier avec les souverains*; Rousseau's *Abridgement of St. Pierre's Projet d'une paix perpetuelle*; St. Real's *Conspiration des Espagnols contre la Republique de Venice*; Vertot's *Revolutions Romaines*; Mably's *Histoire Grecque*; Chinese Reflections from the Manshur tongue; The Visible World; Lambert's *Traité de l'Amitié*; Taffo's *Jerusalemme Liberata*; Gulliver's Travels; Joseph Andrews; Jonathan Wild the Great; Amelia; of the Ventriloquists; Gellert's *Betschwester*; the Art of being polite; Letters upon several Physical and Philosophical Subjects; Macquer's *Chymistry*; the Duty of an Officer; Dictionary of the French Academy; on the advantage of instructing Youth in Classical Literature; Rollin's *Belles Lettres*; Bell's Journey through Russia.

This list mentions 83 books, the translations whereof were in the press; 78 of which translations were making; and 63 which the committee proposed to be translated.

* See Russ. Bib. for 1775, p. 74.

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I have received an account of the following translations, which have been since made.

Henriade; *Diabla Baitetx*; Gellert's Works; Anderson's History of Commerce; Robertson's History of Charles V. from the French translation; Pallas *Sambungen Mongolischen Volkenchaften*; English Grammar; Homer's *Iliad*; Virgil's *Æneid*; Lucian's Dialogues; Milton's *Paradise Lost*; Coyer's *Histoire de J. Sobieski*; Montesquieu's *Esprit des Loix*; Mallet's *Hist. de Danemarck*; *Hist. Generale de Voyages*; Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgicks*; *Cicero de Natura Deorum*; Plato's Works; Hesiod; Coxe's *Russian Discoveries*; *Lés Incas de Marmontel*; Biefield's *Political Institutions*; *Hist. de la Maison de Brandenburgh*; *Memoires de Sully*; Blackstone's *Commentaries*; *Hist. Aug. Script. Sex*; Pope's *Essay on Man*; Locke on Education; Livy; several *Epistles* and *Odes* of Horace; Young's *Six Weeks Tour*, translated by particular order of the empress, for the purpose of diffusing the knowledge of practical agriculture, &c. &c.

With respect to classical literature; the Greek language is yet taught in very few of the schools, is scarcely known to the laity, and is a rare qualification even among the regular clergy. Latin is more common, being understood by many of the regular clergy, and not unfrequently cultivated by persons of improved education. Many of the classics have been translated by natives into the Russian tongue; several editions of the most approved Greek and Roman authors have been published at Moscow and Peterburgh, but the editors have been chiefly foreigners, encouraged to this attempt by the patronage of those among the Russian nobility who are not deficient in antient literature, and excited by the opening genius of the nation. Among the natives, however, who have rendered themselves illustrious in this branch of knowledge, I must not omit the name of Plato archbishop of Moscow, who is highly eminent for classical learning; and, among the naturalized foreigners,

foreigners, that of Eugenius archbishop of Slavensk and Kherfon, who, in the true spirit of the original, has translated into Greek hexameters the Eclogues and Georgicks of Virgil, a work printed in folio, at the expence of prince Potemkin, and exhibiting a magnificent specimen of typography. This same ingenious author is employed in translating into the same language the Æneid, in which he has made considerable progress.

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T R A V E L S
I N T O
R U S S I A.

B O O K VI.

C H A P. I.

Conjectures on the population and revenues of the Russian empire.—Bank of assignation.—Paper currency.

BOOK VI. **I**F we recollect the various publications lately put forth in England relating to the population of Great Britain, and the surprizing difference between the calculations of Dr. Price on one hand, and Messrs. Wales and Howlett on the other, in a country where the registers of births and deaths are supposed to be regularly kept, and where there are no impediments to our researches ; we shall not be surprized at meeting with a still greater uncertainty in respect to the population of Russia, considering the immense extent of its empire, the various nations which compose it, the difficulty of procuring exact intelligence, and the obstructions which prevent

prevent a freedom of inquiry ; nor can we think it extra-ordinary, that some authors have estimated it at 28,000,000 inhabitants, and others at only 14,000,000. CHAP. I.

Under this reflection, it might appear presumptuous in a foreigner, who was only resident in the metropolis during a few months, to attempt to lay down any positive information upon so intricate a subject. Trusting, however, to the candor of the reader, I submit the following sketch, from which some general inferences may be drawn with respect to the number of inhabitants contained in this vast empire.

According to the last numeration made in 1764, the males who paid the poll-tax amounted to 7,363,348. By doubling *, therefore, this number for the females, we have for the inhabitants in those provinces which are assessed with the poll-tax				Souls.
—	—	—	—	14,726,696
In the new governments of Mohilef and Polotsk, lately dismembered from Poland, and which contain 730,000 males paying the poll-tax, by the same mode of estimation are				
—	—	—	—	1,460,000
In the Ukraine †, which, according to the revision of 1764, contained 955,228 males, are				
—	—	—	—	1,910,456
Government of Revel in 1773				176,000
Riga or Livonia	—	—	—	447,360
Wiburg	—	—	—	117,998
				18,838,510

* Voltaire, in his estimate of the population of Russia, instead of only doubling, triples the number of males paying the poll-tax ; and while he computes the increase by births, makes no allowance for the diminution by deaths.

† In the Ukraine in 1772 were the following numbers of births and deaths, from which the reader, who is versed in calcula-

tions of this sort, will compute the population.

	Births.	Deaths.
Males	38,630	26,746
Females	35,561	24,238
	74,191	50,984

Bus. Hist. Mag. IX. p. 459, &c.

As

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As in this calculation are not included the nobles and gentry, the clergy, the army, the navy, the Siberian coffacs, the tribes of wandering Calmucs, the Laplanders, the Saymoyeds, the inhabitants of the provinces ceded to Russia by the Turks, and others, who are exempted from the poll-tax, we may fairly add for all these 4,000,000; and the average population of the whole empire will amount to 22,838,510.

I cannot avoid in this place taking notice of an objection which has been made to this mode of calculation. It is urged, that although at the last numeration in 1764 the persons paying the poll-tax amounted to 7,363,348, yet, that since that period, their number has been considerably diminished by the Turkish war, the campaigns in Poland, the rebellion of Pugatchef, and by the plague which raged with great violence at Moscow, and in the southern parts of the empire: from these circumstances, the author of the *Essai sur le Commerce de Russie* has reduced the population to 14 millions *. It is very difficult to answer an objection which does not arise from particular, but from general facts; and which, while it states the diminution, does not at the same time pay any attention to the acquisition of new subjects.

The arguments drawn from conjecture may seem to make it probable, that the ravages of war and of the pestilence have occasioned the loss of about 600,000 subjects; while those deduced from matters of fact positively prove, that the increase since the last numeration has greatly exceeded this diminution.

By the acquisition of the provinces dismembered from Poland, at least 1,500,000 souls have been added to the inhabi-

* "Le dernier dénombrement de 1764, a pu donner un total de 17 à 18 millions d'habitants des deux sexes, tout compris: mais ce calcul, sans doute exact à cette époque, ne peut l'être depuis la guerre de la Pologne & de la Turquie, depuis la

dernière révolte, & sur-tout depuis la peste. Nous croyons donc pouvoir avancer qu'il n'y a plus que 6 millions d'hommes en Russie," &c. *Essai sur le commerce de Russie*, p. 31.

tants of the empire. Beside the new subjects of the districts bordering upon the Black Sea, which were ceded by the Porte, many thousand Greek and Armenian families have migrated from Crim Tartary, and help to colonize several new towns and villages which line the banks of the Dnieper below the cataracts; and it must be remarked, that since the solid establishment of peace throughout the empire, the security and order derived from a more stable legislature, the establishment of physicians and surgeons in the new governments, the additional privileges which the empress has conferred upon the merchants, burghers, and peasants of the crown, the population has considerably augmented* in many parts of her extensive dominions. All these considerations must surely overthrow any objections to the general calculation of between 22 or 23 millions † for the average population of the Russian empire.

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I am

* I can lay before the reader the following undoubted instances of this augmentation.

Table of the births and deaths for 1776 and 1777 in the government of Tver.

	Births.	Deaths.	Births.	Deaths.
Males	8707	3715	9509	3740
Females	6137	3066	6726	3192
	14844	6781	16235	6932

The reader will probably observe, with as much astonishment as I did, the surprizing excess of the births above the deaths. If we compare the two tables, we shall find, that in 1777 there were 1291 births more than in 1776.

According to a list in the Journal of St. Petersburg for 1781, published by authority, we find the births in the government of Tver amounted in 1780 to males 11,948, females 9013 = 20961: the marriages to 6074; the deaths, males 4315, females

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3613 = 7928. The increase, therefore, of the births since 1776 amounts to 6117; and the excess of the births in the single year 1780 over the deaths, 13,033.

In the government of Novogorod for 1777

were	Births.	Deaths.
Males	8536	4216
Females	6625	3641
	15161	7857

In 1779 the list was,

	Births.	Deaths.
Males	9337	3965
Females	7129	3289
	16466	7254

By comparing these two lists, the excess of births in 1779 over those of 1777 was 1305, and the decrease of deaths 603; which gives an increase of population for that year only 1908 souls.

† Busching, in his Erdbeschreibung, estimates

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I am well aware, that the important question concerning the Russian finances is no less difficult than that which relates to the population; and all the intelligence which I can pretend to give amounts to the following particulars.

The revenues of Russia, beside the imposts paid by the Ukraine, and the provinces conquered from Sweden, chiefly arise from the poll-tax, the duties of import and export, the excise upon salt, the crown and church lands, the mint, and the sale of spirituous liquors, &c.

The poll-tax was introduced in 1721 by Peter I.; and, at the accession of the present empress, it was exacted from all persons, excepting the nobles and gentry, the clergy, the navy, the army, the cossacs, the inhabitants of the Ukraine and conquered provinces. All who were liable to this tax were rated in different proportions, as they were merchants, burghers, or peasants. By the manifesto of 1775, promulgated after the conclusion of the Turkish war, the merchants were exempted from this tax; and it now includes only the burghers and peasants.

Every fifteen or twenty years the number of inhabitants throughout the empire is usually taken; and, in each district subject to the poll-tax, all males, infants as well as adults, under the description of a burgher or peasant, are assessed*; from that period the same assessment is regularly paid till the next revision, whether the population of that district increases or diminishes; in the latter case, the inhabitants or the landholders are bound to make up the deficiency; in the former, the tax is not augmented, and of course falls much

mates the population of Russia at 20 millions; Suefslich, Vol. II. p. 213, at 24; Monf. Le Clerc, Hist. Mod. p. 177, &c. upon the same grounds as those alledged by the author of the *Essai sur le Commerce de Russie*, at 19; but he falls into the same error by enumerating the causes which tend to diminish the population, without taking into consideration those which help to increase it. L'Evesque, in vol. IV. p. 480, states the number at 19,050,000; but then he is evidently deficient in putting the inhabitants of the Ukraine, Siberia, and the

Cossacs, only at 300,000. He adds, however, "Mais la plupart des seigneurs assurent que la population est considerablement augmentée dans leurs villages depuis la dernière révision."

* It is no easy matter to convey a clear notion of this tax, as well from the complicated method of imposing it, as from the different changes which are occasionally made in the mode of assessment.—A burgher pays usually 4s. 9d. per annum; a peasant of the crown in some instances, 8s.; in others, 4s. 4d. $\frac{1}{2}$.; a peasant of an individual,

much easier upon a larger number of persons. The landholders are answer- CHAP.
able for the payment of the money at which their peasants are rated. I.

According to the last revision in 1764, this impost produced a clear sum of £1,363,935. At the beginning of the Turkish war it was augmented to near £2,000,000; but, as it was again reduced at the conclusion of the same war, we will state its net produce at the original sum £1,363,935; though this estimate is rather below than above its value, since the merchants, instead of the poll-tax, now pay one per cent. of their capital employed in trade.

The governments of Mohilef and Polotsk, dismembered from Poland, are assessed at £74,460, in the following manner. Each male in those provinces is rated at 1s. 3d.; and the landholder, for the liberty of distilling and selling spirituous liquors, pays also to the crown 10d. for each peasant. As these provinces contain 730,000 males liable to the poll-tax, its revenue in this article amounts to the above-mentioned sum of £74,460.

The average duties upon imports and exports amount to £760,000.

The excise upon salt, which is appropriated to the empresses privy purse, produces upon an average £400,000. Her majesty has twice diminished the price of salt nearly 30 per cent.

The mines* and coinage, and duties upon iron at the forge, yield £679,184, exclusive of the profits from the coinage of gold and silver imported into Russia.

The church lands, which are now annexed to the crown, produce about £400,000; part of this money is allotted to pay the salaries of the archbishops, bishops, and regular clergy, for the maintenance of the several monasteries, and for the pensions of officers and soldiers dismissed from the service. The remainder, which belongs to the privy purse, amounts to about 300,000 roubles = £30,000.

dual, 2s 9d.—Every person exercising the trade of a taylor, smith, shoemaker, mason, or any similar handicraft trade, and who enrolls himself in the company of any town, pays annually, beside the poll-tax, 2s. Every peasant who quits his village to trade at Petersburg, Moscow, or elsewhere, pays 5d. to the crown for his passport. These and many other similar taxes are all ranged under the poll-tax. The dissenters, or old believers in the Russian church, pay double

poll-tax. Some burghers and peasants, such as the yamshies who find post-horses, and others, are exempted from the poll-tax; others pay it in labour; some in furs, &c. I found it impossible to give equal attention to every object; and I frankly own, that amidst the variety of intelligence which I procured in Russia, I do not perfectly comprehend each mode of assessment in the poll-tax.

* See Chap. VI. of this Book.

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The sale of spirituous liquors forms at present nearly one third of the Russian revenue. In every part of the empire, excepting the Ukraine and the conquered provinces, the crown alone has the privilege of selling spirituous liquors. The vast increase of this branch of finance will best appear from the following table.

Until 1752 it was farmed for £540,000; till 1770 for £620,000; till 1774 for £900,000; and till 1778 for £1,500,000. By the new lease which took place in 1779, it was let for the four next years at the sum of £1,800,000; and will probably be raised at the conclusion of the present lease: of this sum Petersburg and Moscow pay £464,000.

Stamp duties, monopoly of rhubarb*, pot-ash, and rich furs, tributes of furs and skins, and other taxes which have been omitted†, we may fairly state at £500,000.

Recapitulation of the several articles.

Poll-tax	—	—	—	—	£1,362,935
Revenues of the Ukraine	—	—	—	—	49,381
Conquered provinces	—	—	—	—	119,010
Provinces dismembered from Poland	—	—	—	—	74,460
Customs	—	—	—	—	760,000
Salt	—	—	—	—	400,000
Gold and silver from the mines, copper, profits of coinage, duty upon iron at the forge,					679,182
Farm of spirituous liquors	—	—	—	—	1,800,000
Church lands	—	—	—	—	400,000
Stamp duties, and other taxes omitted	—	—	—	—	500,000
					6,144,968

It is curious to observe how the gradual increase of civilization in the Russian empire has been followed by a gradual increase in its revenues. At the accession of Peter the Great, they amounted to £1,000,000; and at his death to £1,600,000. Elizabeth raised them to 3,600,000; when the present empress ascended the throne, they produced

* This monopoly has been abolished since I left Russia.

† Particularly the profits from the coinage of the gold and silver which are imported.

£4,400,000; now yield above £6,000,000; and are still CHAP.
I. in an increasing state. This sum is sufficient for the peace-establishment. Of this revenue, the expences of the army and navy amount to about £3,072,485; those of the civil establishment to £2,272,483; and the remainder, or £800,000, is appropriated to the privy purse of the empress. But it is difficult to conceive how she is able to maintain the magnificence of her court, the number of publick institutions, the numerous buildings* which are constructed at her expence, the liberality with which she encourages the arts and sciences, the purchases which she is continually making in every country in Europe, and the immense donations which she confers upon the most favoured of her subjects.

The revenues of Russia may be considerably augmented in case of emergency, as was evident during the late war, by the increase of the poll-tax, and the addition of many new imposts. It should also be observed, that in 1775 the empress remitted 57 taxes, and ten in the following year.

The great support of the last war was a new bank, called the Bank of Assignment, which was established during the hostilities against the Turks, when copper money could not be coined with sufficient expedition to answer the necessities of the state. Bank notes, to the value of £10, £15 †, and £20, in copper were issued. These notes are changed at the bank in Petersburg and Moscow. The former, which I visited, is a brick building, containing several vaulted rooms, each capable of holding £400,000 of copper coin in bags, piled one above another; in some the money was already placed, and the others were preparing for the reception of

* In time of peace her majesty usually allots £200,000 per annum, for the purpose of building.

† Soon after the institution of this bank, some notes of 75 roubles or £15, being forged, those bearing that value were called in and destroyed.

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the remainder. It is difficult to ascertain the precise quantity of this paper currency. The officers of the bank informed me, that each note which was issued had its equivalent in copper money: that the Bank of Affignation had, beside the building at Petersburg, another at Moscow: that the former contained £2,800,000 in copper coin; and £100,000 in gold and silver specie; that in the latter £1,200,000 in copper was already deposited, and that £200,000 were then coining for that purpose. According to this account, in 1779, bank notes had been circulated to the value of £4,200,000. It is supposed, however, that this statement of the paper currency is under-rated; and many persons pretend to assert, that the notes issued by government amount to at least £10,000,000.

Upon the first appearance of this paper, it was received, particularly in the remote parts of the empire, not without difficulty, and the discount against it was commonly about $3\frac{1}{2}$, and in some places even 6 per cent. But its obvious advantages over copper money soon recommended it to general use; and it has been found so beneficial to commerce, that the discount in favour of silver specie is only one per cent. and it bears a premium of one and an half per cent. over copper money.

The debts of Russia in foreign countries amounted, at the conclusion of the last war, to only £2,000,000, which was almost discharged; but the same sum has been lately borrowed in Holland; and probably the present armaments against the Turks will have much increased the publick expenditure.

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C H A P. II.

*Admiralty.—Expedition to Cronstadt.—Description of Cron-
flot and the citadel; of the island Retufari; and the town
of Cronstadt.—Its harbours and dock.—Navy.—Remarks
upon Russia considered as a maritime power.—General ob-
servations on the Russian army.*

THE Admiralty *, which stands on the south bank of the CHAP.
II. Neva, opposite to the fortress of Peterburgh, was built by Peter the Great; and is a large building of brick, surrounded with a rampart and ditch: it is the great receptacle for ships' stores; and contains large magazines of cordage, sails, masts, anchors, which are sent to Cronstadt for the equipment of the fleet. A large area, which lies between the front of the building and the Neva, is used for the construction of vessels: when I was at Peterburgh, five men of war and two frigates were upon the stocks †.

I have already observed, that in our expedition to Peterhof and Oranienbaum, we visited Cronstadt, a description of which I reserved for the present occasion.

* I am informed, that the Admiralty is intended to be removed to Cronstadt; and that a building for that purpose is absolutely begun.

† The men of war which are framed in this dock are, in their passage to Cronstadt, lifted over the bar by means of Kameels: these machines were originally invented by the celebrated De Witt, for the purpose of conveying large vessels from Amsterdam over the Iampus; and were introduced into Russia by Peter the Great, who obtained the model of them when he worked in Holland as a common shipwright. A kameel is composed of two separate parts, whose out-sides are perpendicular, and whose insides are

concave, shaped so as to embrace the hull of a ship on both sides. Each part has a small cabin with sixteen pumps and ten plugs, and contains twenty men. They are braced to a ship underneath by means of cables, and entirely inclose its sides and bottom; being then towed to the bar, the plugs are opened, and the water admitted until the kameel sinks with the ship and runs a-ground. Then, the water being pumped out, the kameel rises, lifts up the vessel, and the whole is towed over the bar. This machine can raise the ship eleven feet, or, in other words, make it draw eleven feet less water.

Cronstadt,

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Cronstadt, at which port the greatest part of the Russian navy is situated, stands upon the island of Retufari in the Gulf of Finland; and was founded by Peter I. as being provided with the safest harbour in these parts, and as forming a strong bulwark by sea for the defence of the new metropolis. The only passage by which ships of burden can approach Peterburgh, lies on the south side of Retufari, through a narrow channel; one side whereof is commanded by Cronstadt, and the opposite by Cronslot and the citadel.

Cronslot, which stands upon a small island of sand, is a circular wooden building, and surrounded with fortifications of wood that jut into the water: it contains a garrison of an hundred men. The citadel is another small wooden fortress, constructed also upon an adjacent sand bank, and capable of holding about thirty soldiers: all large vessels must sail between Cronstadt and these two fortresses, exposed to the fire of the opposite batteries; for the other parts of the gulf are only from one to eleven feet in depth. All these fortifications were, at the time of their construction, esteemed places of considerable strength; but now they derive their consequence more from their past importance, than from any resistance they could make against the attack of a powerful fleet.

The island Retufari is a long slip of land, or rather sand; through the middle of which runs a ridge of granite. It is 20 miles from Peterburgh by water, four from the shore of Ingria, and nine from the coast of Carelia. It is about ten miles in circumference, and was overspread with firs and pines when Peter first conquered it from the Swedes.

It contains at present about 30,000 inhabitants, including the sailors and garrison, the former of whom amount to about

12,000,

12,000, the latter to 1,500 men. The island affords a ^{CHAP.} small quantity of pasture, produces vegetables, and a few ^{II.} fruits, such as apples, currants, gooseberries and strawberries, which thrive in this northern climate.

Cronstadt is built upon the south eastern extremity of the island, and is defended towards the sea by wooden piers projecting into the water, and towards the land by ramparts and bastions. It is a very straggling place, and occupies, like all the Russian towns, a larger space of ground than the number of habitations seem to require; the houses are mostly of wood, excepting a few fronting the harbour, which are of brick stuccoed white. Among the latter are the imperial hospital for sailors, the barracks, and the academy for marines and officers of the navy. That seminary contained, in 1778, three hundred and seventy cadets, who are clothed, maintained, and taught at the expence of the crown: they are admitted at the age of five, and are suffered to remain until they reach their seventeenth year. They learn accounts, mathematicks, drawing, fortification, and navigation; and have masters in the French, German, English, and Swedish languages. They are trained to naval affairs, and make an annual cruize in the Baltick as far as Revel.

Cronstadt has a separate haven appropriated to the men of war, and another to merchant-ships. The men of wars' haven contained twenty ships of the line and nine frigates, which were dismasted, with their guns and tackle on shore. We went on board of the Ezekiel of 80 guns, esteemed the finest ship in the navy: she was built under the inspection of admiral Knowles, and carries 800 men.

Close to the haven for merchant-ships is a canal and several dry docks, begun in 1719, by Peter I. for the purpose of refitting the men of war; this useful work was

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neglected under his successors, and was not completed until the reign of his daughter Elizabeth: it has been still further beautified and improved by the present empress; and is now applied for building as well as careening ships of the line.

At the extremity of these docks is a great reservoir, 568 feet in length, which contains water sufficient, and half the quantity over, to supply all the docks; which is pumped into it by means of a fire engine, the diameter of whose cylinder is six feet. The length of this work, from the beginning of the canal to the end of the last dock, is 4221 feet. The sides of the docks are faced with stone, and the bottom is paved with granite: they are 40 feet deep, and 105 broad; and are capable of containing nine men of war upon the stocks.

Nothing can convey a higher idea of the vast abilities and persevering genius of Peter the Great, than the situation in which he found the Russian navy, and the state in which he left it. Though in the beginning of his reign he did not possess a single ship in the Baltick, yet in the course of a few years he equipped a fleet of fifty sail of the line, which rode mistress of that sea.

Under his successors the Russian navy was greatly neglected; and it was in so bad a condition at the accession of the present empress, that she may be said to have almost equalled her great predecessor in the creation of a new fleet; she invited several English captains and ship-builders into Russia, and particularly admiral Knowles, who was remarkable for his skill in naval architecture. Under her auspices Europe lately beheld with astonishment the Russian flag displayed in the Archipelago, and the Turkish fleet annihilated at Tchefme by a squadron from the North.

Russia

Russia produces every article necessary for the construction and equipment of ships, which are built chiefly at Cronstadt, Peterburgh, and Archangel : those constructed at Cronstadt and at Peterburgh are framed with oak ; while those from Archangel are made with larch-wood ; the latter are much less adapted than the former for an engagement. For the supply of the dock-yards at Peterburgh and Cronstadt, the oak is sent from the province of Casan ; the Ukraine and the government of Moscow supply the hemp ; the masts are procured from the vast tracts of forest which lie between Novogorod and the Gulf of Finland ; or are furnished by the provinces lately dismembered from Poland. Pitch and tar are obtained from Wiburgh.

Manufactures of cordage and sail-cloths are established in different parts of the empire ; and the magazines of Peterburgh and Archangel are always plentifully stored with large quantities of both those articles.

List of the RUSSIAN NAVY in October, 1778.

		Ships of the Line.		When built.
	Names.	Guns.	Station.	
1	Ezeziel	80	Cronstadt	1773.
2	Ifidor	74	Ditto	1772.
3	St. Andrew	74	Ditto	1770.
4	Clement	74	Ditto	1770.
5	Tchesmè	74	Ditto	1770.
6	Vladimir	66	Ditto	1771.
7	Vekeflaf	66	Ditto	1771.
8	De Neifs	66	Ditto	1772.
9	America	66	Ditto	1773.
10	Perislaſ	66	Ditto	1772.
11	Vsevolod	66	Ditto	1769.
12	Demitri Donſki	66	Ditto	1771.
13	Pam and Euſtatia	66	Ditto	1770.
14	Victor	66	Ditto	1771.
15	Europa	66	Ditto	1768.
16	Saratof	66	Ditto	1765.
17	Pobeda	66	Ditto	1770.
18	Ratiſlof	66	Ditto	1769.
19	Miranofitz	66	Ditto	1771.

BOOK VI.		Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.
	20	Pobidnasovitz, rebuilding	66	At Cronstadt	
	21	Count Orlof	66	Revel	1770.
	22	Alexander	66	Ditto	1772.
	23	Boris and Glebb	66	Ditto	1773.
	24	Ingermanland	66	Ditto	1773.
	25	Afia	66	Ditto	1773.
	26	Unknown	66	Cronstadt	1777.
	27	Ditto	66	Ditto	1777.
	28	Ditto	66	Ditto	1777.
	29	Ditto	66	Ditto	1777.
	30	Ditto	66	Ditto	1777.

Ships of the Line ready to launch and building.

31	Ready to launch	74	Petersburgh
32	Ditto	74	Ditto
33	Building	74	Ditto
34	Ready to launch	66	Ditto
35	Building	66	Ditto
36	Ditto	66	Ditto
37	Ditto	66	Ditto
38	Ditto	66	Ditto

F R I G A T E S.

1	St. Michael	32	Cronstadt	1774.
2	Kaslevoi	32	Ditto	1774.
3	Leeskoï	32	Ditto	1773.
4	Pospelkoi	32	Ditto	1774.
5	Bohemia	32	Ditto	1774.
6	Hungaria	32	Ditto	1774.
7	Nordeskoï	32	Ditto	1769.
8	Eustafia	32	Ditto	1768.
9	Pomofknoi	32	Ditto	1768.

Frigates ready to launch and building.

10	Ready to launch	28	Petersburgh
11	St. Mark	20	Ditto
12	Ready to launch	20	Ditto
13	Building	20	Archangel
14	Building	20	Ditto
15	Building	20	Ditto

Prames : 1. Elephant, 36 guns; 2. unknown, 36; 3. Leopold, 18; 4. Barfa, 18.
Gallies : 101 at Petersburgh; 3 at Cronstadt; and 5 at Revel.

Thus the navy of Russia, in the ports* of the Baltick and Archangel, consisted, in the latter end of 1778, of 38 ships of the line, 15 frigates, 4 prames, and 109 gallies.

* As I could not obtain an exact account of the Russian ships in the Black Sea, I have chose to be silent on that head; I shall only observe, that several men of war and frigates were building at St. Demetri, Taurof, and Kherfon.

Of this number about 28 ships of the line and ten frigates, including those built with larch-wood, were fit for immediate service. In case, however, of necessity or danger, Russia producing all the materials for the construction and equipment of ships, her navy might soon be considerably increased, of which I have given a remarkable instance on a former occasion *. But though Russia, since the beginning of this century, has made surprizing exertions in the marine, and rapidly became more powerful at sea than her neighbouring kingdoms in the North; yet, in naval affairs, she must be considered as still in her infancy, being in a great degree indebted to the English, as well for the construction of her ships, as for manœuvring and disciplining her fleet. Many circumstances indeed concur in retarding the progress of her maritime strength: 1. The want of ports in the Ocean; 2. The small extent of her sea coast, and that obstructed by ice; 3. A deficiency of experienced seamen.

1. With respect to the first cause, it is obvious that she possesses not a single port upon the Ocean, excepting that of Archangel, which is of no use but in a commercial light, as well on account of its great distance from the other European seas, as because the navigation round the North Cape of Lapland, situated in the 72d degree of latitude, is only open in the midst of summer.

2. In regard to the second cause, it has been justly remarked, that there are very few instances of any nation's having arrived at a great height of naval power, which did not possess a considerable tract of sea-coast; and Russia, excepting the late acquisitions upon the Black Sea, the desolate shores round Archangel and in the Frozen Ocean, and the in-

* See Vol. I. p. 527.

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hospitable regions of Kamtchatka, can boast no greater portion of maritime country than what lies between Wiburgh and Riga; a mere point for so large an empire, and rendered less valuable for bordering upon the Gulf of Finland and the Baltick, inland seas without tides, when compared with the Ocean scarcely superior to lakes, and inaccessible * for at least five months in the year.

3. The third cause is a deficiency of experienced † seamen. Government, indeed, retains in its pay about 18,000 sailors; but most of these have never served: a few in time of peace make annual cruises into the Baltick, or perhaps as far as the English Channel; and others are employed in the summer season in navigating the vessels laden with merchandize from Cronstadt to Petersburg. But such nurseries as these are by no means sufficient to rear a large number of seamen; nor can the deficiency be supplied, in case of an immediate war, by the sailors from private vessels, for Russia has scarcely any merchant ships; which is chiefly owing to the state of vassalage, and the strict laws that prevent the natives from quitting their country without formal licence. A merchant who fits out a trading vessel, must first apply to the admiralty for permission to take on board a certain number of natives: leave being obtained, the passes for each sailor are brought and lodged in the Admiralty, and a sufficient security, at the rate of £30 per man, is given for their return. Thus, without altering the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and totally innovating on the long established rights of vassalage, there cannot be an adequate number of sailors to

* The ports in the Baltick being frozen during that period, no vessels can take their departure before the month of April, and must return in October.

† In the naval expedition against the Turks, it was a remark made by several of

our officers, that the distance from St. Petersburg to the Archipelago was a very fortunate circumstance, as the Russians acquired experience during the length of the voyage.

man a large fleet upon sudden emergencies. In a word, no ^{CHAP. II.} kingdom, without distant colonies, without considerable fisheries, and without an extensive sea coast to familiarize its inhabitants to the dangers of the Ocean, is likely to acquire such a marine as to become formidable to the great naval powers of Europe.

The navy of Russia, however, with all these deficiencies, is sufficient to protect her coasts, to convoy her merchantmen, to make her respectable in the Baltick, or, in case of a Turkish war, to send a fleet into the Archipelago. It is her advantage to maintain a good correspondence with the great maritime powers, whom she supplies with naval stores, and who are, on that account, equally interested to respect and cultivate her friendship. The frontiers of her immense dominions border upon Sweden, Poland, Turkey, Persia, and China; and the security of her empire depends as much upon her army as her navy.

As I could not obtain an accurate list of the Russian army, and as it does not enter into the plan of this work to extract from other publications vague accounts, the veracity of which I cannot, in some measure, confirm from my own observations, I shall only lay before the reader the following general information, which I procured from persons highly qualified to give the most authentick intelligence.

The Russian army is divided into regular and irregular troops.

The regulars, consisting chiefly of infantry, include all those who wear uniforms, and are trained to European discipline. According to the peace establishment in 1778, they amounted to about 130,000 effective men. The Russians, when properly disciplined, are very excellent soldiers; being brave, steady, obedient, patient of fatigue and hardship, and scarcely

BOOK VI. scarcely ever guilty of desertion. Since my departure from Petersburg, these regulars are said to have been considerably increased; but to what amount I cannot pretend to determine.

With respect to the irregular troops, some of whom are still armed with bows and arrows, their number is very considerable, and can scarcely be ascertained: they consist entirely of horse, who are of use indeed in a war against the Turks, Persians, and Chinese; but would add very little to the Russian strength in an European campaign. Of this desultory body, the corps of cossacs, who are esteemed the most excellent, and who bear the greatest resemblance to regular troops, are thus described in the journal of Colonel Floyd.

“ The Cossacs are in general persons of low stature; they
 “ wear small whiskers, and shave their heads, excepting the
 “ crown, upon which they leave a small circle of hair.
 “ Their dress is a fur-cap, a loose long Asiatick robe, and
 “ large pantaloons, boots or half-boots, without spurs, and a
 “ whip hanging from the right wrist. Their arms are a
 “ lance about twelve feet in length, a brace of pistols slung
 “ on the left side, a cartridge-box on the right, and a small
 “ scymitar without any guard, or even cross-bar. Their
 “ horses are ponies, which are strong and active, but not fleet.
 “ The accoutrements are a kind of huffar-saddle, a small
 “ snaffle with large eyes and no horns, to the near eye of
 “ which is fastened a thong, that is also tied to the saddle and
 “ which occasionally serves for a halter. They ride short
 “ and full-footed, raise themselves on their stirrups, bend
 “ their bodies with great activity, and throw themselves into
 “ different attitudes. They never push their horses on full
 “ speed in a straight line; but in galloping turn them in va-
 “ rious

“ rious directions, describing in their progress a serpentine
 “ line, and wheeling continually to the right and left. When
 “ not in action, they carry their lance flung on the foot;
 “ when engaged, they present it against the enemy by hold-
 “ ing it almost in the middle, and counterpoizing it under
 “ the arm; and, from constant practice, direct it against
 “ an object with great dexterity. In retreating, they rest the
 “ lance upon their shoulder as a defence against blows, and
 “ occasionally oppose the point to a pursuing enemy.

“ These Cossacs, on account of their aversion to regular
 “ discipline, are not trained to attack in squadron; but act
 “ only as skirmishers, and are said to be extremely adroit in
 “ their desultory evolutions: they are usually let loose upon
 “ a flying enemy, when they do great execution. They
 “ excel as patrols, and are remarkable for their vigilance on
 “ out-posts, and their knowledge of the country. The sagacity,
 “ which they derive from habit and practice, is in some
 “ particulars astonishing; by examining a tract which has
 “ been lately traversed by the enemy in the most tumultuary
 “ manner, they can discover, with tolerable exactness, the
 “ number of horses that have passed over it, and how many
 “ of them were led. Some of them can descry, if any
 “ movement is taking place among a corps of troops, far
 “ beyond the reach of usual observation; others, by applying
 “ their ears to the ground, can distinguish the buz of
 “ men, or the clattering of horses’ feet, at a very considerable
 “ distance. They can take the field every day without inter-
 “ mission; and are indefatigable in harassing the
 “ enemy: they are contented with a very scanty subsistence,
 “ and do not require any forage to be carried for their
 “ horses.

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“ There are eight regiments of these Cossacs : each regiment consists of five squadrons, and each squadron of an hundred men, beside officers. There are also six other regiments of horse, called regular pikemen, similar in their arms and accoutrements to the Cossacs, and distinguished from them only by a trifling difference of dress.”

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C H A P. III.

*Rise and progress of the English trade into Russia.—
Commerce of the British Factory of St. Petersburg.—Ex-
ports and imports.*

THE commercial intercourse between Russia and the northern parts of Europe was begun and carried on by the Hanseatic towns, which, in 1276, established factories at Novogorod and Plescof*, and for a considerable period entirely engrossed the trade of this empire. The accidental discovery of Archangel, in 1553, deprived the Hanseatic towns of a great part of this lucrative commerce, and transferred it to the English. On the 11th of May, in the above-mentioned year, three ships sailed from Deptford, in order to explore the Northern Seas, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby. Two of these vessels penetrated as high as the 72d degree of latitude to the coast of Spitzbergen; and being afterwards forced by stress of weather into the bay of the river Arzina in Russian Lapland, both their crews were frozen to death. Richard Chancellor, who commanded the other ship, called the Bonaventure, discovering the country bordering upon the White Sea, landed near the mouth of the Dvina in a bay, which he denominated the Bay of St. Nicholas, from a convent of that name, near

* The merchants of Hamburgh and Lubeck, and of the other Hanseatic towns, in carrying on this traffick, usually sailed to Revel or Narva, and from thence passed through Dorpt to Plescof and Novogorod. S. R. G. V. p. 418; and Bus. Hist. Mag. X. 291.

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the present port of Archangel. Information of his arrival being instantly dispatched to Ivan Vassilievitch II. the tzar sent for him to Moscow, distinguished him with many marks of kindness and attention, received in the most favourable manner a letter from Edward VI. * and permitted the English to open a commerce with Russia. Upon Chancellor's return to England, a Russian company was established by queen Mary; and in the year 1555 he again repaired to Moscow, accompanied by several merchants of the incorporated society. To these persons the tzar, among other considerable privileges, granted "a free liberty † of trading " to any part of his dominions without paying any duties " either of export or import, that they might exercise all " kind of merchandizes in his empires and dominions, and " every part thereof freely and quietly without any restraint, " impeachment, price, exaction, custome, toll, imposition, " or subsidie."

The correspondence between Elizabeth and Ivan, and the confidence which the latter reposed in the queen, has been already mentioned ‡; and it is no wonder that the monarch who claimed and obtained the promise of an asylum in England, in case he was driven from the throne by a rebellion of his subjects, should confer additional immunities on the new company. These privileges, which were renewed upon different occasions, amounted to an absolute monopoly, " Ivan " forbidding all other persons but the members of the said " company, and all other nations but the English, to carry " on any traffick to any of the northern coasts of Russia §."

* Hackluyt, Vol. I. p. 253.

† lb. p. 265, 266, dated Moscow, 7060, the second month of February.

‡ See Vol. I. p. 330.

§ Hackluyt, p. 462.

During

During the reign of Ivan, the English trade greatly flourished: the company settled colonies in different parts of the empire; one at Kolmogori, where they even obtained grants of land, erected warehouses, and a rope-walk; others at Novogorod and Vologda. Their chief establishment was at Moscow, where the tzar built for their residence a large brick edifice, which was called the embassador's house. The principal merchandize which the first English ships exported from Russia were furs and skins, masts, flax, hemp, cordage, tallow, train oil, tar, pitch, and leather*. The English commodities were chiefly cloths of all sorts, cottons, and tin. Another unexpected advantage was derived from this connection with Russia. Ivan Vassilievitch, having conquered the Tartars of Casan and Astrachan, extended his dominions as far as the Caspian Sea, and thus established a communication with the Persians and Bucharians†. Animated with the hopes of gain, the English factory obtained a patent for an exclusive trade into Persia and Bucharia; and several merchants passed through Moscow to the countries beyond the Caspian, as will be shewn in the next chapter.

At the death of Ivan, the English lost their great support; and, at the accession of Feodor, the confirmation of their immunities was for some time refused: this refusal was owing to the imprudence and impatience of Sir Jerome Bowes, the English embassador, who, offending by his supercilious deportment the Russian nobility, occasioned a revocation of the patent for the monopoly of the Russian trade. In 1586, Mr. Jerome Horsey, the English agent at Moscow, obtained the re-establishment of several im-

* Hackluyt, vol. I. p. 298—306.

† Russian Discoveries, p. 181.

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munities; and, in 1588, the English embassador, Giles Fletcher*, concluded, through the interest of Boris Godunof, a treaty of league and amity between Elizabeth and Feodor, the second article of which contains, “A confirmation and
“re-establishment of the former privileges of the companie
“of our English merchants, which were infringed and annulled in the principal points, with divers necessary additions to the same, for the better ordering of their trade
“in those countrys hereafter †.”

But at length the right of exclusive trade, which had been frequently revoked, and as often renewed, seems to have been finally taken away by Boris Godunof; who extended to the Dutch several immunities which had been hitherto peculiar to the English; and again reinstated the Hanseatick towns in their antient traffick to Novogorod and Plescof ‡. But still, however, the privileges which remained to the factory were very considerable, consisting in a free commerce to any part of the Russian dominions without paying any duties of import and export.

At the revolution which placed Demetrius upon the throne, the English factory conceived a strong hope of recovering its patent of exclusive trade, as appears from a letter written by that tzar to Sir Thomas Smith, the English embassador.

“We, calling to minde the correspondence, love and amity, which was
“between our father the great lord, emperor, and great-duke, Ivan Vassilievitch, of famous memory; as also our brother the great lord, emperor,
“and great-duke, Feodor Ivanovitch, sole commander of Russia; and their
“sister queen Elizabeth, queen of England: In the like manner we do purpose to have intercourse, and to be in love with your lord king James, and

* Fletcher, who went this embassy, and has published a curious Account of Russia, was fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

† Hackluyt, vol. I. p. 473.

‡ S. R. G. V. p. 159.

“ more

“more than hath been in former times; and in token of our said love and
 “amity, we do intend to favour all his subjects within our dominions, and to
 “give unto them more liberty than they have had heretofore.” And a short
 time before his assassination, he re-established the commerce of the English
 company, “in the same form and manner as heretofore was bestowed on the
 “English merchants, in the time of our father of famous memory, the great
 “lord and Cæsar, and great-duke Evan Vassilywich, of all Russia sole com-
 “mander, and as was granted unto them in the time of our brother the great-
 “duke Feodor Evanovich, of all Russia sole commander *.”

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His deposition, however, and untimely fate, prevented the good effects of these favourable resolutions; and the civil calamities which, subsequent to his assassination, desolated Russia, almost annihilated the English commerce. But these troubles were no sooner terminated by the election of Michael, than Sir James Merricke, ambassador from James I. to the court of Moscow, obtained from the new czar a fresh patent in favour of the company; which allowed them, as before, a free trade, without paying duties or customs to Archangel†, and from thence to Kolmogori, Novogorod, Moscow, and other parts of his dominions‡.

This beneficial commerce was, in 1648, suddenly annihilated by Alexèy Michaelovitch, who banished the English merchants from all his dominions. The cause of this expulsion is generally imputed to the resentment which the czar conceived against the English for the execution of Charles I. § with whom he was closely connected by leagues
 of

* Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. III. p. 760.

† Ibid. vol. III. p. 738.

‡ As long as there was no town at the mouth of the Dvina, the merchandize was sent to Kolmogori, and from thence into the interior parts of Russia. Some time in the reign of Feodor Ivanovitch, the first foundations of the castle of Archangel were laid: it took its name from a monastery built in

honour of the *Archangel* Michael. This spot soon increased to a town, and became the great staple of the English trade. See S. R. G. VII. p. 470.

§ In the midst of the Khitaigorod at Moscow, there is an antient gateway, which forms the entrance into the printing-office of the Holy Synod: it is of curious workmanship, ornamented with figures of the lion.

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of amity and alliance; but in effect he abolished the company's privileges in the year before that event; and his indignation against the English for their rebellion was only a political pretext; the real motive being derived from the offers made by the Dutch to pay duties of export and import, to the amount of 15 per cent. if they were indulged with the liberty of carrying on as free a trade as the English throughout his dominions. For not long afterwards the tzar suffered William Prideaux, Cromwell's agent, to reside at Archangel; and permitted the English to renew their commerce in that port upon the same footing with other foreigners *.

It appears also, from Milton's and Thurloe's State Papers, that the tzar not only received several letters from Cromwell, and returned answers to them, but that, at the protector's request, he even agreed to admit his embassador at Moscow. In consequence of this permission, Richard Bradshaw, Cromwell's resident at Hamburgh, proceeded in his way to Moscow as far as Mittau, where he was honourably entertained by the duke of Courland; from that town several dispatches passed between Bradshaw and the Russian chancellor, with respect to the superscription of the letter which the protector addressed to the tzar, and which did not confer up-

¹ lion and unicorn grotesquely carved in wood. These being the supporters of the Royal arms of England, authors have conjectured that this gateway was the entrance to the hotel, constructed by order of Ivan Vassilievitch II. for the residence of the English embassador, and that the tzar Alexèy was so offended at the execution of Charles I. that he converted the hotel into a printing-office. It is probable, indeed, from the figures of the lion and unicorn, that this gateway had some reference to the English, although it was not the embassador's hotel, because that was situated near the church of St. Maximus, in another part of the

Khitaigorod; but it evidently appears, from an inscription over the gateway, that this building was not converted into a printing-office on account of the execution of Charles I. This inscription denotes, that Michael Feodorovitch, and his son Alexèy, caused these apartments and this gate to be constructed in the printing-house June 39th, 7152, or, according to our æra, 1645: a plain proof that the establishment of the printing-house was prior, by at least three years, to the execution of Charles I. and could have no reference to that event.

* Thurloe, vol. II. p. 558—562.

on that monarch all the titles which he required : this seems to have been merely a pretext, as Bradshaw asserts, to prolong the time ; and in effect he soon afterwards returned to Hamburg without having accomplished his intended embassy to Moscow *. CHAP.
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Cromwell, however, seems to have gained a great point in opening the commerce of Archangel to the English, although he could not obtain such honourable terms as they had formerly enjoyed ; and although Alexèy could not be induced to grant unto the English a free trade into the interior parts of his dominions ; yet this exclusion was not peculiar to them, for he equally prohibited all foreigners from carrying on any traffick, excepting at Archangel †.

Soon after the Restoration, Charles II. desirous of obtaining a renewal of the company's privileges, as they existed before the abolition in 1648, dispatched the earl of Carlisle to Moscow, who was ordered to represent, that “ these very “ privileges were the basis and foundation upon which the “ amity of the two crowns of England and Muscovy were “ superstructed.” The embassy failed of success : the failure was imputed to the haughty deportment of the ambassador, who expressed disgust at the bad accommodations in Russia ; did not pay sufficient court to the ministers and favourites of the tzar ; tendered repeated remonstrances in a manner totally repugnant to the Russian custom ; and, under a false notion of maintaining the dignity of his sovereign, objected to the Russian ceremonial ‡.

It

* See Milton's Works, p. 1657. Thurloe, vol. III. p. 258, and VI. 408, 432, 439.

† Thurloe, vol. II. p. 598.

‡ The following quotation will display the frivolous nature of the disputes about precedence ; and will show at the same time Vol. II.

the ill policy of the English ambassador, who, as he wished to gain a point of some consequence, ought to have paid every possible deference to the prejudices and pride of the Russians.

“ A while after came Pronchissof, one of “ the

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It is much to be questioned, however, if the earl of Carlisle had acted a less impolitick part, whether the Russian court would have renewed the charter of the company in its full extent, and particularly the exemption from duties of export and import; since the Dutch, who at that time carried on a very considerable traffick to Archangel, readily paid the customs. The only point which the earl of Carlisle could accomplish, was a permission that the English should trade freely into the Russian dominions, but remain subject to the duties of export and import. From that period the British commerce has suffered no interruption.

Archangel continued the sole port for the exports and imports of Russia until, upon the building of Petersburgh, Peter the Great abolished its immunities; and removed the commerce of the White Sea to the havens of the Baltick *. The British merchants, who were highly fa-

“ the czar’s council, deputed as master of
“ the ceremony to his excellence. And, on
“ this occasion, we had another ridiculous
“ example of the pride and rusticity of the
“ Moscovites, who were so quick and pre-
“ cise in anticipating the prerogative of
“ ambassadors. Pronchissof being arrived
“ within some small distance of the embas-
“ sador’s sledge, gave him to understand,
“ that he was sent to receive him from the
“ grand-duke his lord, and that he expected
“ the ambassador should first come out of
“ his sledge. But his excellence signified
“ to him, that he represented the person of
“ the king his master, and that, in that case,
“ all such kind of respect was due to him-
“ self. Pronchissof, however, continued im-
“ moveable in his sledge as the master of
“ the ceremonies, and sent back to the em-
“ bassador, that he also was sent from the
“ czar his master to represent his person.
“ This answer, how absurd soever it was,
“ caused several smart replies, both on one
“ side and the other: till at last, the em-

“ bassador, to prevent any further delay in
“ his entrance, condescended to this, that
“ both of them should come out of their
“ sledges together. But in this Pronchissof
“ took occasion to deceive his excellence,
“ and falsify his word, hanging in the air
“ betwixt the arms of his servants, and but
“ touching the earth with his tiptoes, while
“ the ambassador came out freely.” Car-
lisle’s Embassies, p. 131.

* In 1752 Elizabeth again restored the antient immunities of Archangel; and its present trade is not inconsiderable.

The port of Archangel supplies the government of Archangel, part of those of Nishnei-Novogorod and Casan with European commodities; and draws in exchange from those parts corn, flax, hemp, coarse linen, cordage, sails, masts, tallow, which are mostly conveyed by the Dvina: it forms also a principal communication with the northern and western parts of Siberia, from whence the merchants procure furs, skins, and iron.

voured by that monarch, settled in the new metropolis, which suddenly became the principal mart for the Russian trade. The privileges of the British factory established in Russia are confirmed by a solemn treaty of commerce and navigation, concluded in 1734 between George II. and the empress Anne; and renewed in 1766 between his present majesty and Catharine II. *

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Goods exported in 382 British ships in 1777.

Quantity.		Value.	
		£.	s.
1,283,279	Poods † of Iron	365,324	12
1,104,299	Clean hemp	353,375	12
92,950	Outshot ditto	27,885	0
32,735	Half clean ditto	9,165	16
84,008	Codilla ditto	13,441	1
209,902	12 head flax	100,753	0
25,470	9 head flax	10,697	8
4,396	6 head flax	1,582	8
36,627	Codilla ditto	4,395	4
1,373	Isinglass	8,238	0
13,514	Bristles	24,325	4
8,774	Hides	10,528	16
2,546	Wax	6,110	8
271,273	Tallow	119,360	0
21,525	Old iron	1,722	0
1,157	Feathers	925	12
70,838	Tar ‡	7,083	16
2,683	Pitch	402	8
1,473	Rosin	441	16
2,987	Cordage	1,194	16
359	Horsehair	143	12
42 32 lb.	Rhubarb	846	8

* The reader will find the first treaty of 1734 in Roussel's Supplement to Dumont's Corps Diplomatique, vol. III. p. 495; and the last, of 1766, in a Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other Powers, vol. II. p. 309—327.

† A pood = 36 English pounds.

‡ Before our unhappy disputes with our Colonies, we used to procure our pitch and tar from America. In 1776 we first imported these commodities from Russia. They were sold at first for only 1s. the pood; but in 1777, tar sold for 2s. and pitch at 3s. the pood.

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VI.

Quantity.			Value.	
			£.	s.
3	3 lb.	Beaver cod	590	8
152,834	Arshines*	Broad diaper	3,362	5
337,683		Narrow ditto	5,402	16
82,155		Broad linen	1,838	4
1,602,716		Narrow ditto	22,438	0
1,168,440		Crash	5,842	4
847,290		Drillings	23,724	0
23,429	Pieces of	Fleems	37,598	8
56,644		Ravenducks	67,972	16
1,505		Sail cloth	2,107	0
3,500		White fox-skins	1,400	0
5,000		Hare-skins	200	0
18,454	Tchetwert†	Linseed	11,072	8
17,986		Wheat	14,388	16
157,083	Deals are about	80,000 dozen.	24,000	0
155	Pood of	Potash	77	8
499		Carraway feeds	149	12
226		Anniseed	90	8
37,817		Old rags, old ropes, goat-skins, and oxen bones	312	0
2	22 lb.	Raw filk	57	12
52		Linseed oil	15	12
10,424		Horse-tails, about 200 pood	200	0
78		Masts and bowsprits, and Wax-candles	1,044	0
205		Fox-skin bags and weasel-skin bags	832	0
312		Hare-skin bags and skins of squirrels	15	12
20		Ermine skins	60	0
14,370		Ermine tails, and fable tails, and mats	214	0
57	Poods of	Caviar	34	4
1,413	Arshines	Checked linen	28	4
			£1,293,010	14
Customs on exportation		£107,176	171,826	12
Shipping charges 5 per cent.		64,650 12 }		
			1,464,837	6
Commiffion 3 per cent.			43,945	0
Total fum of exports by British ships			£1,508,782	6

* An arshine = to 28 inches. † A Tchetwert contains 5½ bushels Winchester measure.
Goods

Goods imported by British ships at Petersburg in 1777.

CHAP.
III.

Quantity.		Value.	
		£.	s.
2,154	Poods of Allum	775	8
214	Benzoin	2,565	0
3,080	Brimstone	985	12
11,482	Campeachy wood	4,592	16
579	Cheese	706	4
126	Cochineal	5,040	0
1,288	Coffee	2,060	16
15	Confectionary	61	16
41	Copper wrought and unwrought	120	8
978	Cork	660	0
6	Coral	500	0
108	Gum arabic	129	16
1,560	Indigo	24,961	4
58,804	Lead	21,169	8
568	Mustard	1,362	12
524	Oil	623	16
46	Olibanum	92	0
1,420	Pepper	3,418	16
37	Pewter	96	12
22½	Plates of gold and silver	7,507	0
608	Rice	243	12
54	Sugar refined	896	8
683	Ditto raw		
409	Sal ammoniac	1,636	4
15,874	Tin	25,398	8
60	Tobacco and snuff	182	8
98	Verdigrease	393	12
206,816	Arshines Bays	20,956	12
100,494	Calimancoes and camblets	7,034	12
32,412	Camblets	6,880	8
164,205	Cottons for printing	7,225	0
7,132	Cloth fine	55,642	12
162,007	ordinary		
144,125	Cotton, velvets, velverets, &c.	17,364	0
45,995	Druggets	3,219	12
9,828	Flannels	589	12
16,225	Phlug and shag	1,986	0
365,896	Shalloons	24,881	12
137,895	Tabouretts	9,652	16

Clothes

	Value.	
	£.	s.
Clothes ready made	344	4
Hats	215	8
Linen and printed handkerchiefs	342	16
Muslin and cambrick	1,108	0
Quilting	2,853	0
Ribbands	133	0
Stockings	1,787	0
Sundry silk stuffs	1,333	0
Sundry woollen ditto	2,131	0
Toys and millenery	9,490	8
Butter	16	12
Capers	1	8
Coals	2,033	12
Chefnuts	68	0
Chrystal	190	4
Currants, raisins, and figs	384	8
Cutlery and hardware	19,181	16
Diamonds and precious stones	5,596	0
Earthen ware	5,890	12
Fans	20	16
Frames for pictures	82	16
Furniture	312	4
Furs	40	0
Hops	24	0
Lace and ruffles	452	12
Leather dressed and undressed	519	4
Mathematical instruments	1,458	0
Musical ditto	451	16
Mohair	45	16
Nuts	45	8
Olives	1	0
Paper hangings	258	8
Pearls	1,000	0
Pencils and black lead	674	0
Pictures and copper plates	3,605	8
Pickles	37	12
Pork and hams	57	8
Printed books	607	0
		Prunes

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Quantity.		Value.		CHAP. III.
		£.	s.	
	Prunes	94	0	
	Stoughton's drops	13	4	
	Stone and marble	822	0	
	Snuff boxes	241	12	
	Tea	35	0	
	Tutinage	141	0	
	Whips and walking sticks	108	16	
	Wine and mineral water	434	0	
	Wood for coaches furniture, &c.	2,070		
131	Horses	2,920	0	
38	Dogs	132	12	
27,316	Pieces of Beaver skins	27,316		
239,967	Bottles	2,380	8	
3,282	Hogsheads Burton ale	26,255	0	
61	Coaches and harness	2,084	4	
	Clocks and watches	11,142	16	
193	Dozen Cyder	154	16	
195	Anchors of French brandy	781	16	
3,556	Chests of Oranges and lemons	5,817	12	
10,703	Otter skins	14,844	4	
116	Reams of Paper	45	4	
13	Anchors of Shrub and rum	98	8	
61	Hogsheads of Vinegar	147	16	
	Sundry drugs and colours	865	0	
	Sundry small articles	590	16	
		£423,942 12		

The whole trade of St. Petersburg in exports and imports for the same year, 1777, with the English and other nations, was

In exports	£2,400,000	} £4,000,000
Imports	1,600,000	
Balance in favour of Russia	800,000	

The

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The British share in this trade is

In the exports about	£1,508,782	6	}	£1,932,715	1
Imports	423,942	12			

Gain	1,084,839	14
------	-----------	----

Consequently, the trade with all other nations (the Russian subjects included) is,

In the exports	£891,227	11	}	£2,067,284	19
Imports	1,176,057	8			

Loss	284,829	17
------	---------	----

From hence it is evident Russia gains annually by her trade with the British subjects about £1,084,829 17

And that she loses by her trade with all other nations	284,829	17
--	---------	----

Remains annually a clear gain of about	800,000	0
--	---------	---

But should the contraband traffick (in which the value of the imports far exceed that of the exports, and in which the British have little or no concern) be included, it will considerably diminish the balance of these commercial profits as just stated.

According to this statement, half the trade of St. Peterburgh is in the hands of the English; but as their exports and imports in 1777 exceeded those of the preceding or subsequent years, this estimate may be considered as too highly rated: we may fairly however allow, upon the most moderate computation, that a third of this commerce is carried on by our factory.

The average number of merchant ships, which annually arrive from England at the port of Cronstadt, with goods laden for Peterburgh, may be collected from the following table.

1753	.	.	.	.	149	1763	.	.	.	.	149	CHAP. III.
1755	.	.	.	.	236	1767	.	.	.	.	200	
1754	.	.	.	.	160	1768	.	.	.	.	237	
1756	.	.	.	.	186	1769	.	.	.	.	322	
1757	.	.	.	.	129	1770	.	.	.	.	306	
1758	.	.	.	.	161	1773	.	.	.	.	319	
1759	.	.	.	.	206	1774	.	.	.	.	318	
1760	.	.	.	.	137	1776	.	.	.	.	310	
1761	.	.	.	.	130	1777	.	.	.	.	366	
1762	.	.	.	.	153	1778	.	.	.	.	251	

The general state of the trade of St. Petersburg in 1778 was,

In exports	£2,042,097	8
Imports	1,318,428	16
	3,360,526	4

In the same year the following number of vessels arrived at Cronstadt.

English	.	.	.	252	Lubeck	.	.	.	38
French *	.	.	.	1	Rostock	.	.	.	29
Spanish	.	.	.	6	Dantzick	.	.	.	2
Russian	.	.	.	12	Hamburg	.	.	.	2
Portuguese	.	.	.	2	Stralsund	.	.	.	1
Swedish	.	.	.	47	Bremen	.	.	.	3
Dutch	.	.	.	147					
Danish	.	.	.	39	Total	.	.	.	607
Prussian	.	.	.	26					

Beside the metropolis, the Russian trade in the Baltick is carried on at Riga, Revel, Narva †, and Wiburgh. From

* The French exports and imports are, in time of war, mostly conveyed in Dutch bottoms, which is the reason why, in 1778, but one French vessel arrived at Cronstadt, although their exports and imports for that year amounted to £148,753.

† The exports from Revel in 1780

amounted to £30,283; the imports to £94,648. Journ. Pet. for 1781.

In the same year 71 ships arrived at Narva, of which 33 were Dutch, 9 English, 11 Danish, 8 Swedish, and 2 from Lubeck. Ibid.

At Riga 758 ships arrived in 1782. See Hamb. Pol. Journ. for 1782. P. II. p. 480.

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Riga a considerable quantity of corn is exported by the English, Swedes, and Dutch, which is sent down the Duna from the provinces of Plescof, Smoleniko, and Novogorod : a few masts are also shipped from the same port. The other exports from this, and the above-mentioned maritime towns, are similar to those of Peterfburgh.



[illegible]

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C H A P. IV.

Rise, progress, and termination of the English trade on the Caspian Sea.—Commerce of the Russians in the same quarter.—Description of the principal ports of the Caspian divided into Russian, Persian, and Tartar.—General exports and imports.—Average value of the trade.—Commerce with the Bucharrians and Chinese.

SO early as the 14th century the Venetians and Genoese drew, by means of the Caspian, through Astracan to their settlements at Azof* and Caffa, the Indian, Persian, and Arabian merchandize, with which they thus furnished the south of Europe; the northern part of this continent was supplied likewise through Astracan with the same Asiatick goods by the Russian merchants of Ladoga upon the Volkof, who sent them to their principal store-house at Wisby, an Hanseatick town in the Isle of Gothland. The devastation occasioned by the wars of Tamerlane, about the end of the 14th century, turned this trade from Astracan to Smyrna and Aleppo. The commerce of Arabia, more commodious for those ports, was never brought back to Astracan; but part of the Persian traffick was afterwards restored to its old channel.

* See Guldenstaedt's Treatise Von den Hafen am Caspischen Meere. in Journ. St. Pet for 1777.

The Indian goods were brought, for the

most part, through Persia, across the Caspian to Astracan, from thence up the Volga, then by land to the Don, and down that river to Azof.

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Before the conquest of Casan and Astracan, and while these provinces were under the government of the Tartars; the camp, or head quarters of the khan, was a mart for the Russian and Persian merchants. But as this camp, according to the custom of the roving Tartars, was frequently changed, Astracan and Terki* became at length the two principal places of resort. The commerce however, impeded and frequently interrupted by the numerous banditti, was precarious, until by the conquest of Casan and Astracan Ivan Vassilievitch II. opened a ready communication between Moscow and the Caspian Sea; and having garrisoned Astracan with troops, rendered it a rendezvous for the merchants trading to these parts, and the chief depository of their several commodities. This conquest being completed in the year 1554, soon after the discovery of Archangel, the English, who had settled a regular factory at Moscow, obtained the czar's permission to pass through his dominions into Persia, and to carry on an exclusive trade over the Caspian.

Jenkinson was the first Englishman who navigated that sea. In 1558 he landed at Mangushlak upon the Eastern shore, passed by land through the country of the Turkoman Tartars to Boghara, capital of Great Bucharia, and returned to Moscow the following year. In 1561 he again sailed over the Caspian; and, proceeding to the coast of Shirvan, went by land to Casbin, the residence of the sophy; from whom he obtained for the English a permission of trading into Persia. Several merchants followed his example. The last expedition was made, in 1597, by Christopher Burroughs, whose ship being, in its return, hemmed in by the ice in the mouth of the Volga and shattered to pieces, he and his crew

* Terki was situated near the river Terek, upon the western shore of the Caspian: there are no traces of it now remaining, as the spot upon which it stood is covered with the sea.

escaped with difficulty, and arrived at Astracan after many dangers *. During these expeditions the traffick was chiefly carried on to the ports of Tumen, Derbent, Baku, and the coasts of Ghilan. CHAP.
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The disasters which attended the last voyage of Burroughs, the number of banditti who frequented the shores of the Caspian, and the wars between the Turks and Persians, obstructed the infant commerce; and no English vessel appeared upon this sea for above a century and an half. At length, in 1741, the British merchants of St. Petersburg, at the persuasion of captain Elton an Englishman in the Russian service, renewed their commerce upon the Caspian; and established a factory at Reshd in the province of Ghilan. Some disputes unfortunately arising, as well between the English themselves, as between the Russians and captain Elton; the latter entered into the service of Kouli Khan, and assisted the sophy in constructing some vessels upon the Caspian sea. This circumstance gave umbrage to the court of Petersburg; and Elizabeth, in 1746, withdrew the permission which she had granted to the English merchants, of passing through her dominions for the Caspian commerce. Upon the death of Nadir Shah in 1747, who, in consequence of captain Elton's influence, had permitted the English to trade to Persia, their factory was pillaged by one of the pretenders to the throne of that kingdom, and their commerce in those parts was totally annihilated †.

Having thus sketched the origin and progress of the English commerce upon the Caspian, I shall now consider that of

* See Hackluyt, p. 324—430. S. R. G. VIII. 426—473.

† See Hanway's British trade over the Caspian Sea, in his Travels, Vol. I. and II.; and Chap. XXXIII. in the second volume of Cooke's Travels through the Russian Empire

to Persia. Both these accounts, however contradictory to each other, sufficiently prove the unfortunate misunderstandings which had arisen between the English who engaged in this trade.

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the Russians, who pursued with perseverance the track which our merchants had opened for them: their trade over the Caspian sea was not inconsiderable, and would have been pushed still further, if the caravans, in their journey to and from Astracan, had not been frequently pillaged by the roving Cossacs*.

The commercial intercourse between Persia and Russia was still further enlarged and extended under Boris Godunov †, who formed an alliance with the sophy Shah-Abbas the Great, which would have been extremely advantageous if the civil wars had not taken place: and though, under Michael Feodorovitch, these commotions subsided, and the commerce was renewed; yet it was so frequently interrupted by the Tartar banditti and pirates, as to become it exceedingly precarious.

Alexèy Michaelovitch having curbed the Cossacs, and rendered the roads more secure, Astracan became again the center of the Persian trade; to which place merchants from Bucharia, Crim Tartary, Armenia, Persia, and even India, resorted. That sovereign turned his attention to the commerce of the Caspian; and as the vessels of the Russians were rudely framed, without decks, and of course exposed to constant shipwrecks ‡, he drew from Amsterdam several ship-builders, for the purpose of constructing vessels more calculated to weather the storms of this sea: but these designs were frustrated by the rebellion of the Cossacs of the Don, under the command of Stenko Rasin §.

The trade of Russia in those parts was so entirely annihilated by the devastations of these Cossacs, that, upon the

* S. R. G. VII. 489.

† Ib. 490.

‡ Ibid. p. 499.

§ Busching IX. 80—88. For an account of Stenko Rasin, see Schmidt. Ruf. Ges. vol. II. p. 32. Motley's History of Catharine, vol. I. p. 227.

quelling of the revolt, and the punishment of their leader, ^{CHAP. IV.} the greatest part of it fell almost entirely into the hands of the Armenian merchants established in Astracan, who settled factories both in the Russian and Persian territories *.

During this whole period the Russian and Armenian traders seem to have penetrated no further than Niezabad, a port between Derbent and Baku; and their chief settlement was at Shamakee capital of Shirvan, until, in 1711, that town was taken by the Lefgees, and their factory pillaged and destroyed.

Towards the latter end of Peter's reign, this commerce was again renewed on the following occasion: that monarch having marched a considerable army into Persia, took possession of the provinces of Dagestan, Shirvan, Ghilan, and Mafanderan, a tract of country which comprises all the Eastern and Southern coasts of the Caspian; and these provinces were formally ceded to Russia in 1723. Soon after this cession, the emperor having obtained all the necessary information relating to the ports of that sea, and the productions of the neighbouring countries, established a Russian company trading to the Caspian: the low state of which will sufficiently appear from this circumstance, that its whole capital consisted only of 400 shares, of the value of £30 each. The chief settlements were formed at Astracan and Kiflar, from which places the whole traffick was carried on by sea.

The possession of these distant provinces proved so expensive, and of such little advantage to the Russians, that the empress Anne was induced, in 1732 and 1735, to restore them to the sophy † upon the following conditions: that

* S. R. G. VII. p. 505.

† S. R. G. I. p. 154, &c.

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the Russian merchants should have the liberty of trading to all the havens of the Caspian without paying any duty; that they should be allowed to build houses and magazines wherever it was most convenient; that they should be in no wise subject to the laws of the country; and that all goods saved from the wrecks of their vessels should be delivered to the Russians*.

The privileges of this company were confirmed by Anne and Elizabeth; but the commerce languished and was inconsiderable until the reign of the present empress, who, in 1762, abolished this exclusive right, and permitted all her subjects to trade to Persia; prohibiting, on account of the numerous banditti who infest the roads, the inland traffick from Kiflar, and the other Caspian ports to Shamakee, where the factory was formerly established. Two Russian consuls reside at Baku and Einzellee†. These regulations, however productive of general advantage to the commerce, cannot prevent the contraband trade which is carried on at Shamakee, and the other inland towns of Persia, by the Armenian merchants, who, from the knowledge of the country and the language, gain ready admision, and undersell the Russians.

Astracan, situated upon an island in one of the branches of the Volga, may be considered as the great staple of the Caspian commerce; and, by means of that river, is readily supplied with European merchandize from the ports of the Baltick‡. Although Astracan is only in the 47th degree of latitude, yet the cold is extremely intense in winter; and for two months the Volga is generally frozen so hard as to be passed over by heavy-laden sledges§. Large tracts of forest

* Guldenstaedt.

† Ibid. p. 248.

‡ Hanway, p. 141.

§ Gmelin, vol. II. p. 84.

grow upon the banks of that river in the province of Casan, and furnish sufficient oak and timber for the construction of vessels for the Caspian sea. CHAP.
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The Caspian is about 680 miles in length, reckoning from the Gurieff to Medshetifar; and in no part more than 260 miles in breadth. It has no tide; and, on account of its frequent shoals, is navigable only by vessels drawing from 9 to 10 feet water: it has strong currents; and, like all inland seas, is subject to violent storms*, which the Russian vessels, wretchedly constructed, weather with difficulty. Its waters are brackish.

The fishery of the Caspian deserves to be mentioned, because it is a nursery for sailors. The Uralian Cossacs enjoy the right of fishing upon the coasts 47 miles on each side of the river Ural; and the inhabitants of Astracan possess the exclusive privilege upon the remaining shores belonging to Russia. The roe of sturgeons and beluga supply large quantities of caviare; and the fish which are chiefly salted and dried form a considerable article of consumption in the Russian empire. The Caspian abounds with sea-dogs, which are hunted and caught in great numbers†.

We shall be able to ascertain with tolerable exactness the present state of the commerce in the Caspian sea, by considering the principal havens, and the imports and exports.

The coasts of the Caspian being in the possession of the Russians, Persians, and Tartars, the ports may be divided into,
I. Russian. II. Persian. III. Tartar.

I. The Russian ports and trading places upon the Caspian are, 1. Gurieff; 2. Kislar.

* Hanway, vol. I. p. 393.

† Journ. St. Pet. p. 253; S. R. G. VII.

p. 525. For a list of the fish in the Caspian, see Gmelin, vol. II. p. 246.

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I. Gurief is situated upon the mouth of the Yaik or Ural, at a little distance from a bay of the Caspian : it is a small, but strong fortress, which guards the frontiers of the Russian empire towards the territory of the Kirghees Tartars. The place contains scarcely an hundred houses ; and, except the garrison, has no inhabitants but a few merchants from Astracan, who drive an inconsiderable trade with the neighbouring Tartars *.

2. The fortress of Kislar stands near the Eastern coast, and covers the frontiers towards the limits of Persia. Vessels bound for this place formerly entered the Southern branch of the Terek ; but as the mouths of that river are now choaked up, the merchandize is landed in a small bay about the distance of 34 miles from the fortress. Kislar draws from Astracan the European commodities necessary for the Persian traffick, and also a large quantity of corn and provision for the Russian colonies upon the Terek, and for the inhabitants of the neighbouring chain of Mount Caucasus. Beside the goods which are disposed of at Kislar, and sent from thence to the Persian ports, the inhabitants carry on a contraband trade to Shamakee, Derbent, and even Tiflis in Georgia, which is exceedingly precarious from the numerous banditti who pillage the caravans.

II. Before I enumerate the principal Persian havens, it would be necessary to acquaint the reader to whom belong the provinces of Shirvan, Ghilan, Masanderan, and Astrabad, in which countries the ports resorted to by the Russians are situated ; if, in the present unsettled state of Persia, and the civil wars which continue to harass that divided empire, it were possible to ascertain that point. In general, the above-mentioned provinces are governed by their own khans,

* Pallas Reise I. 424, &c.

who,

who, though tributary to the sophy, render themselves occasionally independent whenever a favourable opportunity offers: continually at variance, and frequently at war with each other, their governments are the seat of almost perpetual hostility, rapine, and devastation. Meanwhile, the trade flourishes or diminishes in proportion as the exactions of the sovereigns are more or less frequent and exorbitant.

The Persian havens are as follow :

1. Derbent is the worst port in the Caspian, if it may be called a port, where vessels can seldom approach the shore, on account of sands and shoals, but are generally obliged to lye at anchor at the distance of at least three quarters of a mile : from this circumstance, joined to the inconsiderable degree of commerce carried on with the inhabitants, it is at present but little frequented. Derbent *, which stands in the province of Shirvan, is a Persian fortress, surrounded by high brick walls : the inhabitants are chiefly Persians, Tartars, and a few Armenians. Two or three Russian ships are annually bound for Derbent ; they are usually laden with oats and rye ; and they carry iron, steel, and lead for the Lesgees and other Tartar nations, who inhabit the Eastern chain of the Caucasus. The neighbourhood of Derbent produces some corn ; but not sufficient for the consumption of the place.

2. Niesovaia Pristan, or Niezabad, must be mentioned, because it was formerly the port most frequented by the

* " This city of Derbent is an antient
" towne, having an olde castle therein, situ-
" ated upon an hill called Castow, builded
" all of free-stone much after our building,
" the walles very high and thicke, and was
" first erected by king Alexander the Great,
" when he warred against the Persians and
" Medians, and then hee made a wall of a
" woonderfull height and thicknesse, ex-
" tending from the same ty to the Geor-

" gians, yea, unto the principal city there-
" of, named Tewfish ; which wall, though
" it be now rased, or otherwise decayed,
" yet the foundation remaineth, and the
" wall was made to the intent that the in-
" habitants of that country, then newly
" conquered by the said Alexander, should
" not lightly flee, nor his enemies easily
" invade." Hackluyt, vol. I. p. 345.

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Russians; this place was chiefly visited by the merchants of Shamakee, who then supplied the province of Shirvan with European commodities: near the harbour are several wretched villages.

3. Baku is esteemed the most commodious haven in this sea, as vessels may there ride securely at anchor in seven fathom water; but the number of shoals, islands, and sandbanks, render the entrance in some places extremely difficult and dangerous, particularly to the Russians, who are not very expert sailors. Baku is a fortress surrounded with high brick walls; its inhabitants, like those of Derbent, are Persians, Tartars, and a few Armenian merchants. The principal articles of exportation which support the trade of this place are naphta, and the finest rock salt, of both which there are mines on the east side of the bay. The inhabitants cultivate saffron and the cotton-tree, but not to any considerable advantage. The trade of Baku, though more valuable than that of Derbent, is still inconsiderable, and chiefly carried on with Shamakee, from whence it draws raw silk and filken stuffs. A Russian consul is resident at this place. In 1777 Baku* belonged to Melik-Mehmed, who was tributary to Feth Ali, khan of Kuba: the latter possessed the whole province of Shirvan, and was the most powerful prince next, to the khan of Ghilan, upon the coast of the Caspian.

Before we quit the province of Shirvan, it may be not improper to mention its capital, the inland town of Shamakee, which is only 66 miles from Baku, and supplies that port with raw silk and filken stuffs. It owed its former commercial importance to the silk which is cultivated in the neighbouring district; this rich production still preserves the town from ruin; though its traffick is greatly reduced by the ex-

* Gmelin, vol. III. p. 52, &c. Guldenstaedt.

orbitant exactions of the khan of Kuba. Formerly the
Ruffians had a factory at this place ; and it was also crouded
with Turkish and Greek merchants : but at present there
are only a few Armenian and Indian traders. The inhabi-
tants manufacture filk and cotton stuffs ; but far inferior to
those made at this place in the beginning of the present
century. The filk of this province is exported into the inte-
rior part of Persia, Turkey, Georgia, and Ruffia. Shamakee
still supplies part of Georgia, and the inhabitants of the
Eastern chain of Mount Caucasus, with European commodi-
ties, principally by means of the traffick with Baku, and the
contraband trade with the Armenians and Ruffians *.

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As Sallian is now no longer resorted to on account of the
shoals and rocks, I hasten to,

4. Einzellee, which, though a wretched village, is the
most frequented for the Persian commerce : formerly the
vessels entered through the channel into a bay ; but, as this
bay is choaked up, they are obliged to lye at anchor in the
road. Einzellee is situated on the south western coast, a
few miles north of Reshd, capital of the province of Ghilan :
it consists of two parts, Old and New Einzellee ; the former
is inhabited by the Persians and Armenians, under the jurif-
diction of the sophy ; the latter, by the Ruffian merchants,
and those Armenians who are subject to the empress : a gar-
rison of thirty Ruffian soldiers is there stationed under the
command of the consul. It contains a Ruffian and Armenian
church, and about 300 houses, which are mostly built with
reed. The refuse only of the Persian and European com-
modities is exposed to sale at Einzellee ; the great mart be-
ing at Reshd, where the Ruffians have erected booths, and

* Gmelin, vol. III. p. 60, &c.

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to which place a conflux of merchants from Tauris, the principal cities of Persia, Armenia, and even Turkey resort, in order to purchase the raw silk and manufactures of Ghilan. Hence the Russians dispose of their European commodities to considerable advantage; and obtain in return the productions of this rich province.

The manufactures * and silk of Ghilan, which is esteemed the best in Persia, have been in such repute for these last fifty years, that Reshd is become one of the first commercial towns in this part of Asia. The finest sort is usually white, and is chiefly sent into the interior cities of Persia, or sold to the Turks. The inferior kind is yellow, and is chiefly disposed of to the Russians. There is such a constant demand for the silk of Ghilan †, that the price rises every year.

Reshd supplies the bordering provinces of Persia, and the independent neighbouring states as far as Georgia, with European merchandize, excepting the goods which are transported immediately from Astracan, through Kislar and Mof-tok, to the nearest parts of Georgia, and of the neighbouring mountains; and those which are sent from Shamakee, to the Lesgees Tartars and other independent tribes ‡.

5. Farabat, and, 6. Medshetifar, are situated upon the southern coast in the province of Masanderan; they are both small villages, of which the latter is the most commercial from its vicinity to Balfrusch, capital of the province, where the Russians and Armenians carry their merchandize: the traffick, however, is much less considerable than it was formerly, which circumstance is owing to the impositions of the khan of Masanderan. The chief productions of this

* See, in Gmelin, vol. III. p. 415, a list of the manufactures of Ghilan.

see Gmelin, vol. III. p. 412. Hanway, vol. II. p. 16. S. R. G. VII. p. 515.

† For an account of the silk of Ghilan,

‡ Gmelin, III. p. 414.

country are silk, far inferior to that of Ghilan, and rice and cotton, of both which articles there is a large exportation. CHAP.
IV. Merchants from Kaskan, Ispahan, Schirafs, Khorasan, &c. resort to Balfrusch, and bring for sale the Persian and Indian commodities *.

7. The bay of Astrabad, where the Russians land and proceed to the capital of that name: the productions of this province, and its exports and imports, are nearly similar to those of Masanderan. The commerce of Astrabad is chiefly with Candahar.

III. The Tartar havens are, 1. The Bay of Balkan; and, 2. Mangushlak, both of which, but particularly the latter, afford a secure harbour.

1. The Russians frequent the islands in the bay of Balkan; inhabited chiefly by pirates of the race of Turkoman Tartars: these islands produce rice and cotton, and one of them, called Naphthonia, abounds in naphta. This traffick might be increased to the advantage of Russia, as it would be far more commodious to trade with the Tartars of Khiva and Bucharía from these parts, than from Orenburg through the country of the warlike and independent Kirghees.

2. The commerce of Mangushlak is by far the most considerable: the neighbouring Tartars bring to this place the productions of their own country, and even of Bucharía, such as cotton, yarn, and stuffs, furs and skins, and rhubarb †.

The principal commodities exported from Astracan to the ports of the Caspian sea, are cloths, chiefly English, Dutch, French, and Silesian; vitriol, soap, allum, sugar, Russia leather, needles, coarse linen manufactured in Russia, velvets, glass ware and looking glasses, writing paper, a few furs and skins, a small quantity of tea, provisions, chiefly corn and butter, wine, brandy, wooden furniture, sea-horse teeth, also iron, brass, tin, lead, hardware, watches, &c. &c. In 1775, the value of the cloths exported amounted to £52,600; the cochineal to £45,600; and the indigo to £7,000.

* Gmelin, III. p. 459.

† Guldensmidt, p. 265—267.

Imports.

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Imports. Raw and manufactured silks, but chiefly the former, from the provinces of Shirvan and Ghilan; which article, in 1775, amounted to £43,800. Bucharian lamb-skins, rice, dried fruit, spices and drugs, saffron, salt, sulphur, and naphta. The Indians and merchants of Khiva bring occasionally to Astracan gold and silver in bars, gold-dust, precious stones and pearls*.

The trade of the Caspian sea had considerably declined before the accession of the present empress; but by the abolition of monopolies, and by various other useful regulations, it has lately increased to such a degree, that within the space of fifteen years the average sum of the exports and imports has been nearly tripled, as will appear from comparing the following tables.

		Total exps. and imps.	
1760,	Exports	£36,100	£78,200
	Imports	42,100	
Balance against Russia		6,000	
1768,	Exports	£87,700	£151,400
	Imports	63,700	
Balance in favour of Russia		24,000	
1775,	Exports	£125,400	£189,520
	Imports	64,120	
Balance in favour of Russia		61,280	
Traffick with Georgia and the natives of Caucasus			£10,000
Total in 1775			£199,520

The contraband trade is not included in this calculation †.

* Such was the general state of the Caspian trade when I was in Russia; but it will be rendered still more secure and profitable to the Russians, if it be true as reported, that the empress has concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with the present sophy of Persia, Aly Murad-khan, whom she assisted against his competitors for the throne. According to this account, the troubles at Persia have, in a great measure, sub-

sided; the sophy has sent an ambassador to Petersburg to ratify the treaty of commerce; has increased the privileges of the Russian merchants, who have already begun to open a more extensive commerce with the interior parts of Persia, Armenia, and the adjacent districts of Asia. See Ham. Pol. Journ. for 1782, P. I.; for 1783, p. 195:

† The reader who wishes to trace the rise, progress, and present state of the commerce

Commerce with the Bucharrians and Chinese.

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IV.

Under the commerce with the Bucharrians * I comprize that which the Russians carry on with the Calmucs and other Tartar nations beyond the frontiers of Siberia, because the latter is of such little importance as scarcely to deserve a separate article.

The Bucharrians, who inhabit the south-western part of Independent Tartary, are a very commercial people: their caravans travel through the whole continent of Asia †, and traffick with Thibet and China, India, Persia, and Russia. This empire contains several colonies of the Bucharrians, who are settled in many large towns of the southern provinces; and who maintain a constant communication with the merchants of their own country. Their principal marts are Tomsk, Kiakta, and Orenburgh; the latter of which is the most considerable, and chiefly trades with Kaskar, Tashkent, and Khiva ‡. Their caravans in their way to these towns are exposed to pillage from the Kirgees Tartars, through whose country they are obliged to pass. Their imports are gold and silver, chiefly in Persian coins and Indian rupees, gold dust §, precious stones, particularly rubies, lapis-lazuli, spun and raw cotton, cotton stuffs in great abundance both Indian and Bucharrian, half-filks, unprepared

merce upon the Caspian sea, must consult and compare Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages, vol. I. p. 324 to 431; Hanway's British Trade of the Caspian Sea; Cooke's Travels; S. R. G. VII. 103—346; Gmelin's Reise, vol. III.; and Guldenstaedt's Treatise mentioned above.

* Having before mentioned the commerce with the Bucharrians upon the Eastern coasts of the Caspian, it is needless to enter upon any further detail of it in this place.

† S. R. G. VII. p. 7.

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‡ Rytzkof Orenb. Top. vol. I. p. 263.

§ This gold-dust is found in the sand of the rivers of Bucharria. The procuring of this commodity was the principal inducement to the first expeditions of the English merchants over the Caspian into Bucharria, which are related in Hackluyt's Collection. Peter the Great sent several Russian merchants into the country for the same purpose. See S. R. G. IV. p. 183, &c. Rytzkof, vol. I. p. 263. Russia Illustrata, vol. II. p. 141.

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nitre, native sal-ammoniac, lamb-skins, raw silk in small quantities, and rhubarb, large herds of sheep and horses*. Exports. Cloth, Russian leather, beads and trinkets, hardware, indigo, cochineal, &c.

The Chinese trade is by far the most important part of its Asiatic commerce, and is now carried on at Kiakta, situated upon the frontiers of the Chinese and Russian empires. But having in a former publication † given a circumstantial account of this commerce, it will be sufficient to observe in this place, that in 1777, the total sum of importation and exportation, as entered at the custom-house, amounted to £573,666 15s.; but if we include the contraband trade, which is very considerable, and make an allowance for the deficiencies of the above-mentioned year, which was not so favourable as the preceding ones, we may fairly estimate the gross amount of the average trade to China, in exports and imports, at near £800,000 sterling.

* Pallas Reise, vol. I. p. 232, &c. The yearly fold at Orenburgh, p. 234.

sheep and horses are brought for sale by the Kirgees Tartars. Mr. Pallas says, that above 60,000 sheep and 10,000 horses are
† See an account of the transactions and commerce between Russia and China in Russian Discoveries, from p. 197 to 248.

C H A P. V.

On the commerce of the Black Sea.—Havens.—Exports and imports.—Ports and territory ceded by the Turks to Russia.—Zaporogian Cossacs.—Abolition of their government — Productions of the Southern provinces of Russia.—Navigation of the Don and Dnieper.—Attempts of the Russians to prosecute the commerce through the Dardanelles to the Mediterranean.—Frequent interruptions and precarious state of that trade.

PETER the Great was the first sovereign of this empire who attempted to open a commerce through the Sea of Azof and the Euxine, and to export, by that channel, the productions of Southern Russia. By his victories over the Turks, the possession of Azof, and the construction of Taganrog, he seemed on the eve of realizing this favourite project; but all his vast schemes were baffled by the unsuccessful campaign of 1711, which terminated in the peace of Pruth, a peace purchased by the cession of Azof and Taganrock, and by relinquishing the commerce of the Euxine. Since that period the Turks have jealously excluded the Russians from all share in the navigation of their seas, until the present empress finished a successful war against the Porte by the glorious peace of 1774. By this peace Russia obtained a free navigation in all the Turkish seas, a right of passing through the Dardanelles, all the commercial immunities granted to the most favoured nations in amity with the Porte, and the possession of Azof, Taganrog, the three fortresses of

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BOOK VI. Kinburn, Kertsch, and Yenikalè, and a large district between the Bog and the Dnieper.

Many speculations have been entertained concerning the extent and value of the traffick which Russia is likely to establish in the Black Sea, and the revolution which it may effect in the commerce of Europe, by transferring part of the Baltick trade to the ports of the Mediterranean. In consequence of this change, it is asserted, that the southern provinces of this empire will find a vent to export their superfluous productions; the Russian vessels will open a profitable trade with Crim Tartary, with the Austrian provinces at Kilia-Nova, with the Turks at Constantinople, with the Greeks in the Levant; the iron of Siberia, the corn, hemp, and flax of the Ukraine, and the contiguous provinces, will be sent from the havens of the Black Sea, through the Dardanelles, to supply the ports of the Mediterranean; and thus France and Spain will be furnished with naval stores by a cheaper and more expeditious navigation than through the Baltick and the Northern Ocean.

As the completion of this great and extensive project can only be the work of time, and depends on a variety of contingences, we cannot pretend to form any absolute decision upon the probability of its failure or success; but a considerable light may be thrown on this intricate subject by an attention to the following objects of inquiry *.

I. The traffick upon the Turkish Seas before the peace, with an account of their havens and exports. II. The ports and territory ceded to Russia, and the new towns since constructed by the empress. III. The productions of the Southern Russian provinces, and the navigation of the rivers Don and Dnieper.

* In this inquiry I have principally followed Guldenstaedt's Essay Von der Hafen am Azowischen Schwarzen and Weissen Meere, in Journ. St. Pet. for 1776.

IV. The progress hitherto made by the Russians to establish an intercourse between the Black Sea, through the Dardanelles, with the ports of the Mediterranean. CHAP.
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I. The traffick upon the Turkish Seas previous to the peace of 1774, and their havens and exports. This traffick was chiefly carried on by the Greeks, Armenians, and Turks; and as the Russians possessed no port, either upon the Sea of Azof or the Euxine, Tcherkask, capital of the Cossacs of the Don, was the place where the productions of this empire and Turkey were reciprocally exchanged. The Greek and Armenian merchants sailed to Taganrock, where they performed quarantine; and then proceeded with their merchandize to Tcherkask, having first paid the duty at Temernik, a small village upon the Don, now the fortress of St. Demitri. Tcherkask was also the emporium of an inland commerce between the merchants of Kuban and Crim Tartary and the Russians. The imports were chiefly Greek wines, raisins, dried figs, almonds, oil, rice, saffron, painted linens and cottons. The exports, hides and leather, coarse linen, hard ware, caviare, &c.* The Greek and Armenian merchants, in returning to Constantinople, supplied the ports of the Sea of Azof and the Euxine with Russian and European commodities.

In order to have a general idea of the traffick in the Turkish seas, we must take a cursory view of their havens, imports and exports.

Among the harbours of the Black Sea resorted to by the Greek and Armenian merchants, the most frequented were those of Crim Tartary, namely, Yenikalè one of the fortresses lately ceded to Russia, Balaklava, Koslof, and Caffa which

* See Tarif of the Imported and Exported wares. Bus. Hist. Mag. XI. p. 373.

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merits a particular description. Caffa and the whole peninsula, which were before under the dominion of the Turks, were, by an article in the late peace, declared independent; and subject to a khan, elected by the natives, but confirmed both by the empress and grand-signor: it is the capital of the Crimea, and the Tartars, who consider it as a place of great celebrity and importance, distinguish it by the name of Half Constantinople*. The harbour, which is very large, is capable of containing several hundred merchant ships; and its inhabitants are the richest and drive the most extensive trade in the Black Sea. The productions of Crim Tartary, exported from Caffa and the other havens of that peninsula, consist chiefly in corn, wine, wool, fine black and grey lamb-skins, and salt. The imports are fine and coarse linens, printed cottons, nankeen, Russian leather, fine cloths, velvets, taffeties, furs, ropes, paper, salted fish, and caviare, tobacco leaves, copper and tin, hardware, gold and silver threads, beads and corals, earthen wares, and a coarse sort of porcelain, glass ware †, &c. &c.

The port of Taman lies opposite to Yenikalé, at the extremity of the straits of Caffa, upon a small island in the mouth of the river Kuban: it is subject to the khan of Crim Tartary, and trafficks with the Circassians from Mount Caucasus, the Cossacs dwelling near the rivers which fall into the Kuban, and the Tartars inhabiting the desert between the Kuban and the Don: the exports are honey, wax, salt, wool,

* Nennen solche di Tartary nur *Jarim Stambul*. Kleeman's Reise von Wien nach Constantinopel. See a curious account of Caffa, in that work. The author observed there several ruins of the buildings which the Genoese constructed when Caffa was in their possession, particularly the remains

of the antient citadel, of churches, of angels and saints grossly carved in stone, and several Latin inscriptions, p. 168, &c. He describes Crim Tartary as a very fruitful country.

† Guldenstaedt, p. 12—14.

skins of foxes, martens, sheep, &c.: the imports nearly similar to those at Caffa. CHAP.
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The ports of the Eastern and Southern coasts of the Black Sea are situated in the Turkish provinces of Mingrelia, Georgia, and Anatolia: the principal are Poti, where the merchants of Georgia resort; Trebizond; Cherson, which is distant only 60 miles from Tokat, at which town the caravans from Persia assemble and separate, in order to proceed by different routes to Smyrna and Constantinople; Sinope, the nearest port upon the Black Sea to Angora, the only place hitherto known that supplies the fine goats-hair, generally called camels-hair, from which the best camlets are manufactured, and which equal, if not surpass, those of Brussels: this hair, spun into yarn, is chiefly purchased at Tokat by the merchants of the caravans in their way to Smyrna, from which port Europe is mostly supplied with this commodity. The Greek and Armenian merchants draw from these parts honey, wax, skins of foxes, of martens, and of sheep, raw and manufactured silk, both Persian and Turkish, cotton, calicoes, rice, saffron, dried fruit, &c. They supply them in return with Russian and other European productions. Tios or Tilios, where the Turks have a dock for repairing ships, and at which place sails, cordage, anchors, and other naval stores, are advantageously disposed of.

The ports on the Western shore of the Black Sea, beside Kinburn, are Varna in Bulgaria, which is distant about 100 miles from Adrianople; Kilia-Nova, at the mouth of the Danube in Wallachia; and Akkermen, upon the mouth of the Dniester, in Bessarabia, and about 60 miles from Bender. These ports furnish wool, dried fruits, Hungarian and Moldavian wines, buffalo skins, &c. The traffick to Varna and Akkermen might be considerably increased by forming a
more

BOOK VI. more regular communication with Adrianople and Bender ; and that of Kilia-Nova might be rendered highly important, by vending the productions of Austria and Hungary, if the navigation of the Danube was not obstructed by the jealousy of the Turks. The imports of those havens consist in European and Russian productions, for the most part similar to those of Caffa.

Constantinople and Gallipoli are the principal havens in the sea of Marmora : the Russian imports are furs and skins, leather, sail cloth, cordage, anchors, tar and pitch, steel and iron, salt fish, caviare, butter, sea-horse teeth, wax, tea, musk, castor oil, colours, paper, coarse cloth, linen, and corn : the exports to Russia are raw and manufactured silk and cotton, muslins, rich Turkish stuffs and carpets, wool and Angora-goats-hair, Grecian wines, oil, all kinds of European and Asiatick fruit, lemons and oranges, tobacco and snuffs, spices, saffron, opium, and other species of drugs, pearls and precious stones, gold and silver *, &c.

III. The ports and territory ceded to Russia, and the new towns since constructed by the empress. The ceded places are, 1. The district upon the Sea of Azof ; 2. Kertsch and Yenikalè, in Crim Tartary ; 3. The fortrefs of Kinburn ; 4. The territory between the Dnieper and the Bog.

1. The district bordering upon the Sea of Azof comprises, beside a large tract of territory to the east and west of Azof, the fortresses Azof, Taganrog, and Petroffk.

Azof is no longer of the same importance as it was in the reign of Peter the Great ; the branch of the Don, upon the mouth of which it stands, being now so choaked with sand as scarcely to admit the smallest vessels. The merchandize therefore is usually deposited at Taganrog or Petroffk ; and

* Guldenstaedt, p. 21—25.

the frigates and merchant-ships, which were formerly constructed at Azof, are now built either at St. Demitri or Rostof, and pass down the Don into the Sea of Azof, through another branch of that river. As the harbour of Taganrog contains, upon an average, only seven feet of water, the vessels which land there must be constructed in such a manner as to draw no more than five or six feet: the town has been rendered commodious by the construction of several warehouses and other buildings during the late war, and is esteemed for the salubrity of the air.

The fortress of Petrofsk, which stands at the mouth of the river Broda, and commands the Turkish frontiers, was also built during the late war. It is extremely advantageously situated as forming a direct communication with the havens of Crim Tartary; and might easily be rendered more secure than that of Taganrog, from the superior depth of water.

By the possession of these fortresses, the navigation of the Sea of Azof is perfectly secured. The frontiers of this ceded territory, to the west of that sea, are guarded by a chain of small forts, extending from Petrofsk to the Dnieper.

2. The fortresses of Kertsch and Yenikalè, situated upon the eastern coasts of Crim Tartary, and near the northern entrance of the straits of Caffa, are of the greatest importance, by commanding the passage which forms the communication between the Sea of Azof and the Euxine.

3. Kinburn is the only port possessed by the Russians on the coasts of the Black Sea: it stands close to the present frontiers, at the mouth of the Dnieper, opposite to the Turkish fortress Otchakof; the latter, being a place of superior strength, must, while it continues in the hands of the Turks, obstruct, in case of a rupture, the navigation of the Dnieper. Kinburn was intended for the principal depository of the

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merchandize sent from the provinces bordering upon the Dnieper; but as the harbour, on account of its quicksand, affords no security for anchorage, the new town of Kherfon is at present rendered the great emporium of this trade.

4. The possession of the territory between the Bog and the Dnieper opens a secure communication between the Black Sea and those rich and extensive provinces through which the Dnieper takes its course. This important territory, so essential to the existence of the new commerce, was chiefly inhabited by hordes of roving Tartars, and by the Zaporogian Cossacs, who dwelled near the Dnieper, and by their piracies rendered its navigation extremely hazardous. The origin of these Cossacs is thus traced by the Russian historians. In the beginning of the 15th century, a tribe of the Cossacs of the Ukraine, who inhabited the territory between the Bog and the Dnieper, were known under the denomination of Zaporogian *, from their situation near the cataracts of the last mentioned river, where stood their Setcha †, or principal settlement. This setcha was a kind of fortress surrounded with a wooden wall, and was at first merely intended as a place of assembly, where these Cossacs were convened, in order to deliberate upon the method of carrying on their customary depredations, or for the purpose of electing a chief. By degrees it was filled with habitations; and afterwards was appropriated to a separate community of persons, who devoted themselves solely to arms, and totally excluded all women from the precinct of their military residence. The inhabitants were divided into a certain number of classes, each of which elected its respective leader, who were all under the

* Forogi signifies cataracts.

† Setcha means any place surrounded with a wall, or fortification, separated from

the neighbouring district. S. R. G. IV. p. 414.

jurisdiction of a supreme chief chosen by the whole society. CHAP.
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 These Zaporogian Cossacs became so distinguished for their bravery and knowledge of desultory war, that persons, not only from the circumjacent parts, but also from more distant regions, flocked to this society of warriors: the inhabitants of the setcha were not obliged to continue in it for any settled term, being only bound, while they remained, to conform themselves to the regulations and discipline of their associates. Whenever any of them were disposed to marry, they were under the necessity of quitting the setcha, but were permitted to settle in the neighbouring district, with the privilege of re-admission, provided they were not attended with their wives and families, whom they were nevertheless allowed occasionally to visit. The Zaporogians increased their numbers by offering an asylum to deserters*, and by forcing and enticing youths and children from the Ukraine and from Poland, whom they trained to a military life, and admitted into their community upon similar conditions, and with the same privileges, which they themselves possessed. The place of their residence was occasionally varied: when their numbers increased, or when the hordes wandered at a considerable distance from each other, different parties erected and occupied several distinct setchas.

The first setcha of this extraordinary society seems to have been situated upon an island of the Dnieper below the cataracts: the last which they inhabited, at the final abolition of their government, and which at that period was the only one they possessed, was constructed upon the rivulet Busulak, at the point where it falls into the Dnieper in the government of Kiof†.

* S. R. G. IV. p. 441.

† Mr. Muller has so accurately and circumstantially described the setcha of the Zaporogian Cossacs, that I would refer the

curious reader to his account, from which I have selected this short extract. S. R. G. IV. p. 411—472.

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As the members of this community were collected from various nations, and from the nature of their constitution perpetually changing, their number could never be exactly ascertained: Manstein relates, that in the war in which he served against the Turks, they brought 8000 horse into the field; and that, on an emergency, they could at that period have raised 12,000, or 15,000. They frequently performed incredible feats of valour in the campaigns of the Russians against the Turks and Tartars; nor were their services confined solely to land: by their skill in navigating the Dnieper, they occasionally defended the mouth of that river, and attacked with success the armed vessels which appeared upon the contiguous coasts of the Black Sea. But while they were thus formidable to their enemies, they were scarcely less to be dreaded by their allies. Nominally dependent upon the hetman of the Ukraine, they were classed among the subjects of the Russian empire; but the peculiarity of their manners, their separation from all other society, their popular form of government, together with their warlike disposition, rendered them a barbarous and unruly banditti*: accustomed to live by rapine and devastation, they pillaged the Russian merchants who passed through their country; and frequently interrupted the navigation of the Dnieper by continual piracies †.

At the conclusion of the late Turkish war, the empress abolished their form of government, destroyed their setcha, and finally dissolved their formidable confederacy. By this salutary act of power, she has secured the merchants trading

* “Manstein calls them a republick of thieves and vagabonds, who subsist on nothing but rapine both in peace and war. The court of Russia cannot hinder their continual excursions; nay, is even obliged to keep measures with them for

“fear of their changing sides.” Manstein’s Memoirs, p. 19.

† The boats of these Zaporogian Cossacs were rowed by 50 or 60 men, had no sail, and generally carried two small cannon. S. R. G. IX. p. 5.

in those parts from the dread of perpetual depredations, and put an end to that system of piracy which so greatly obstructed the commerce carried on upon the Dnieper. CHAP.
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III. The Russian countries which are most interested in this commerce, are those that are contiguous to the Dnieper and the Don. This general description comprizes the provinces of Smolensko, Mohilef, Ukraine, New Russia, Bielgorod, Voronetz, Ukraina-Slobodskaia, and Azof: a large tract of territory which furnishes in great abundance every species of grain, hemp, flax, hides, masts, planks, honey, wax, tobacco, &c.

In these ceded districts the empress has already raised several new towns, the principal whereof are Kherfon, Catharinenslaf, and Marianopoli.

Kherfon is situated on the Dnieper, about ten miles below the mouth of the Ingulec, and is chiefly built with hewn stone. It is intended to be the principal mart for all the commodities of export and import; but if an extensive trade should take place in this quarter, the great depository for the merchandize will be more conveniently fixed on some spot below the bar of the Dnieper, and about twelve miles south of Kherfon. It contains a dock for the construction of large vessels; from which several men of war and frigates, as well as merchant-ships, have been already launched.

Catharinenslaf, or the Glory of Catharine, is built near the spot where the small river Kiltzin falls into the Samara, and is appointed to be the capital of the government of Azof; it is colonized by many Greeks and Armenians from Crim-Tartary, and by others of those nations who served in the late war against the Turks.

Another town, called Marianopoli, has been also raised upon the borders of the Sea of Azof, between the rivers Myus and Calmius. These

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These three towns, as well as the numerous villages which have suddenly reared their heads in a country formerly inhabited only by lawless banditti or traversed by roving hordes, are filled with Russians, with Tartars reclaimed from their wandering life, and with numerous colonists, particularly Greeks and Armenians, who migrated from Crim Tartary and the adjacent provinces of the Turkish empire.

The navigation of the Don and the Dnieper, which rivers form the communication between those provinces and the Turkish seas, remains to be considered.

The Don * takes its rise from the small lake of St. John, near Tula, in the government of Moscow, and passing through part of the province of Voronetz, a small portion of the Ukraina-Slobodskaia, and the whole province of Azof, divides itself near Tcherkask into three streams, and falls in these separate branches into the Sea of Azof. The river has so many windings, is in many parts so shallow, and abounds with such numerous shoals, as to be scarcely navigable excepting in the spring, upon the melting of the snows; and its mouth is also so choaked up with sand, that only flat-bottomed vessels, excepting in the same season, can pass into the Sea of Azof.

The banks of the Don, and the rivulets which fall into it, are clothed with large tracts of forest, whose timber is floated down the stream to St. Demetri and Rostof, where the frigates for the Sea of Azof are chiefly constructed.

The navigation of the Don may possibly hereafter be rendered highly valuable, by conveying to the Black Sea the iron of Siberia, the Chinese goods, and the Persian merchandize; which latter commodities, as well as the products

* S. R. G. IX. p. 11—12.

of India, formerly found its way into Europe through this same channel *. CHAP.
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Since the acquisition of Russian Lithuania, the cession of the district between the Don and the Dnieper, and the total dispersion of the Zaporogian Cossacs, the Dnieper, from its source to its mouth, now flows through the Russian dominions; and through this whole course, of above 800 miles, its navigation is only once interrupted by a series of cataracts †, which begin below the mouth of the Samara, and continue for a space of above 40 miles: they are not, however, so dangerous as they have been represented; for they may be passed in spring, without much hazard, even by loaded barks. In other parts of the year the goods are landed at Kemensk, opposite the mouth of the Samara, and transported about 40 miles by land to Kitchkase, about 6 miles from the fortress of Alexandrovsk, where they are again embarked, and descend the stream without interruption to Kherson ‡. If the trade should increase to a great degree, the cataracts might, at a considerable expence, be rendered navigable at all seasons of the year.

IV. The progress hitherto made by the Russians to establish an intercourse between the ports of the Black Sea and those of the Mediterranean.

The empress, in order to encourage her subjects to engage in this branch of traffick, has lessened the duties of import and export §, and has contributed towards forming a Russian house, or company, trading to the Black Sea. Soon after

* The iron of Siberia, and the merchandise of China, are sometimes sent by an inland navigation to the Volga: the Persian commodities are conveyed across the Caspian to the same river, from thence they might be transported by a land-carriage of only 40 miles to the Don.

† Muller has described these cataracts. S. R. G. IV. p. 411, &c.

‡ See Muller. S. R. G. IX. p. 16; and Guldenstaedt.

§ See a list of the duties of export and import, in Bus. Hist. Mag. XI. p. 373.

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the peace of 1774, four merchant-ships, fitted out for this purpose, sailed from Petersburgh, and not, as might have been expected, from the ports of the Black Sea: they were laden with iron, flax, hemp, hides, sail cloth, and coarse linen, at the sole expence of the empress, who granted all the profits arising from the sale of their cargoes to the said house.

This plan, however, was not attended with the success it seemed to promise; and its failure arose from the jealousy of the Turks. The ships were, under specious pretences, prevented from passing the Dardanelles; the cargoes were sold in the Levant and the Mediterranean; and they returned to the Baltick without having effected the main object of the voyage. Before the Russians could make any further attempts to open this channel of commerce, dissensions took place between the empress and the grand-signor, concerning the independency of the Crimea, and the free election of a khan, which threatened an immediate war, and suspended all commercial exertions in regard to the Black Sea, until a new pacification was concluded between the two rival powers on the 21st of March, 1779.

Since that period, beside several Greek vessels, which sailed from the Sea of Azof and the Euxine under Russian colours, and were allowed to pass the Dardanelles, a Russian ship, manned with seamen in the service of government, and laden with salted beef, taking its departure in 1780 from Kherfon for the port of Toulon, was allowed to pass the Dardanelles. Soon afterwards five others, freighted with iron, made successful voyages to the Archipelago: also four small vessels, and a fifth of 400 tons just launched, laden with hemp and tobacco, were expected to sail from Kherfon for France, in the month of November, 1781.

Such, in 1781, was the infant state of that commerce, which CHAP.
V. some authors have described as capable of producing an immediate revolution in the trade of Europe*: and in this, or in a still more fluctuating state, it will probably continue, as long as the Turks retain the dominion of their own seas. For that jealous people will either openly oppose, or at least will clandestinely obstruct, the progress of the Russians in those parts; and will never readily give a free passage through the Dardanelles to a powerful rival, though they consented to it in the humiliating peace of 1774. Per-

* “Catharine II. va donc ouvrir une ancienne route du commerce *le plus vaste & le plus riche, qui se soit fait sur la terre.* Ses ports, dans la mer d’Azow & sur la mer Noire, peuvent devenir le centre de tous les échanges du nord & du midi; & les provinces méridionales de son empire jouiront d’un débouché avantageux & facile, dont elles ont manqué jusqu’ici pour l’écoulement de leurs productions.” *Essai sur le Com. de Russ.* p. 109.

“Concluons que, de quelque manière que la Russie exploite son commerce de la mer Noire, soit par elle-même, soit par le secours des étrangers, son avantage le plus solide & le plus réel doit consister dans un écoulement facile et rapide de ses productions méridionales. Ces productions sont les suifs, les cires, les chanvres, le lin, les cordages, les tabacs, le fer & le cuivre. La plus grande partie ne fera plus le tour de l’Europe, pour parvenir en Espagne, en Italie, & dans les ports de la Méditerranée; et le petit nombre des autres formera de nouveaux objets de débit pour ces pays, qui n’ont pas eu jusqu’ici l’usage de s’en fournir, comme le fer & le cuivre,” p. 127.

All these vast projects are in a manner annihilated by the following reflection: “Au reste, les besoins & les facultés d’une nation étant naturellement bornés, le gouvernement Russe devra mettre des limites à ses communications par la mer

“Noire, afin qu’elles ne prejudicient point à celles de la Baltique. Ces deux commerces doivent se balancer, se combiner sans se nuire, & ils doivent être dirigés de sorte que la prééminence reste toujours attachée au plus ancien,” p. 127, 128.

Many persons are of opinion, that the obstacles to the rising commerce of the Black Sea are by no means injurious to the interests of Russia. For her commodities and productions being articles of necessity, not of luxury, no facility given to their exportation could add to their general consumption; and the increase of exportation from the Black Sea would have diminished that from St. Petersburg, and the other ports of the Baltick, and nearly in the same proportion. By the facility and cheapness of land-carriage, and the improvements of the inland navigation, the productions of the remotest provinces are readily sent to the ports of the Baltick without raising their price too high. And as the goods which Russia produces are either peculiar to this empire, or such as other nations must purchase, they cannot pass through too many hands before they are exported: to diminish therefore, by facilitating their exportation, the price of such goods which she already sells cheaper than other nations, would be to incur a manifest loss, and to gratify the foreign trader at her own expence.

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haps these claims, urged on one side, and evaded on the other, will engender perpetual diffensions, and will not be finally terminated but by a series of obstinate and bloody wars. Mean while the trade cannot for a considerable period be extensive, which depends upon such casual circumstances as the coalition and rupture of rival and neighbouring powers.

The course of subsequent events can alone discover, whether the pacification, signed on the 9th of January, 1784, will be more permanent than the former treaties; or whether the same causes will not continue to produce the same effects. In a word, the Russian commerce in those parts can scarcely be established upon a firm basis, until the empress acquires a fleet in the Black Sea superior to that of her rival. And perhaps the completion of this great national object may be effected by the late acquisition of Crim Tartary and the Kuban, rendered highly valuable by an additional extent of sea coast, and the important harbour of Caffa.

C H A P. VI.

Mines of Russia belonging to the crown and to individuals.—

Gold and silver.—Copper and iron.—Average profits which government draws from the mines, founderies, and duties upon copper and iron.

THE mines of the Russian empire may be divided into, CHAP.
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I. Those which belong to the crown; and, II. Those which are the property of individuals.

I. The former comprize all the gold and silver, and a few copper and iron works.

1. The gold and silver mines are as follow. The most antient gold mine in the Russian empire is that of Voetsk, near Olonetz, between the lake Onega and the White Sea. Its chief produce is a violet pyritical copper ore mixed with quartz, and containing rich pieces of gold, but not in sufficient quantity to defray its charges. From 1744 to 1776, this mine yielded only 57 pounds of gold, and about 9,000 pood* of copper; and as the expences amounted to £16,000 more than the profits, it was neglected until 1772, when it was again worked. Since that time it has furnished annually about 250 poods of copper, and about two or three pounds of gold dust which is washed from the mine, beside accidental pieces that have been found and sent to Petersburg as specimens, and which may amount to five or six pounds more.

* A pood = 40 Russian or 36 English pounds. The pound used in this chapter is the Russian, which is to the English as 9 to 10.

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2. The next gold mines discovered in the empire were those near Catharinenburg: the ore is very martial, commonly of a cubick form in a quartz matrix; and the gold is extracted by washing. The annual produce of pure gold never exceeded 200 pounds, and was commonly much less: in 1772 it was only 101 pounds.

3. The most important silver mines are those of Kolyvan, between the rivers Oby and Irtysh, near the mountains which form the frontiers of Siberia, and separate that country from the Chinese empire, or rather from the territory of the Calmucs dependent upon the Chinese. These mines were first discovered in 1728, by Akinfi Nikitich Demidof, and were for some years worked by him, for his own private emolument, as copper mines. It is suspected, that he privately extracted the nobler metals, but prudently concealed the secret until 1774; when, in order to prevent its being divulged by other means, he made the discovery to the empress Elizabeth, who appropriated them to the crown*. These mines, situated near Volkresensk, and in the Smeyeskaia Gora, or Mountain of Serpents, are known by the general appellation of Kolyvan, from a village of that name upon the rivulet Bielaia, in the district of Kufnetsz, where the ore was formerly smelted. But as the adjacent country is scantily provided with wood, new founderies have been constructed at Barnaul, Novopaulofsk, and Sufunsk, to the north east of Kolyvan, in a district abounding with trees†.

These mines, which may justly be styled the Potofi of the Russians, have produced from 1749 to 1762 from 8,000 to 16,000 pounds of silver; from 1763 till 1769 from 20,000 to 32,000; and since that period to 1778 from 40,000 to 48,000. The silver contains upwards of three

* Pallas Reise. P. II. p. 582.

† Ibid. p. 579.

per cent. of gold, the separation of which is made in the imperial laboratory within the fortress of Petersburg. The whole produce ever extracted from the mines amounted, in 1771, to 400,000 pounds of silver, with 12,720 of gold; and since 1771 we may calculate the annual produce at above 44,000 of silver, and about 1200 of gold.

The mines and founderies of Kolyvan employ nearly 40,000 colonists, beside the peasants in the districts of Tomsk and Kufnetz, who, in lieu of paying the poll-tax in money, cut wood, make charcoal, and transport the ore to the founderies. The expences, which were formerly supplied from the treasury and of course considerably diminished the profit, have, since the year 1765, been absolutely annihilated, and the whole produce of the mines in gold and silver is clear profit. In the same year a mint was established at the foundery of Sufunsk, for the coinage of the copper supplied from the mines of Kolyvan, the greatest part of which had been hitherto of no use. Pieces of one, two, five, and ten copécs*, are struck and dispersed over Siberia. Of this currency the sum of £50,000 is annually coined, which is sufficient for re-imbursing the poll-tax, paying the miners, transporting the ore, purchasing the lead which must be brought from Nerzhinsk, and defraying the expence of sending the gold and silver as far as Tobolsk. The silver which is smelted in the above-mentioned founderies, is conveyed upon large sledges twice in the year: the first convoy sets off in the beginning of the winter, and reaches Petersburg a little after Christmas; the second in the middle of winter, and arrives there towards spring.

* A small coin nearly equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

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4. The silver mines of Nerzhinsk, which were opened in 1704, are situated in Dauria, the south eastermost part of Siberia, between the rivers Shilka and Argoon, and are very numerous.

Their produce from their first opening to the year 1772 is as follows*.

	Pounds of silver.
From 1704 to 1721 . .	4,732
1721 to 1731 . .	1,498
1731 to 1741 . .	1,333
1741 to 1751 . .	15,657
1751 to 1761 . .	43,631
1761 to 1771 . .	126,247
1771	16,733
1772	16,200, which contained 200 pounds of gold.
	226,031

In 1767 they yielded 17,400 pounds; but the annual average produce may be estimated at 16,000. The silver contains, in 40,000 pounds, nearly 500 of gold, which is separated at Peterburgh. The ores being generally very rich in lead, and extremely poor in silver, the latter is easily extracted. Many millions of pounds of lead remain useless upon the spot, only about 14 or 18,000 being annually required for the separation of the silver from the copper at the foundries of Kolyvan; the carriage into the inner parts of the empire being too expensive; and the export to China being prohibited.

The number of men employed in these mines and foundries are about 1900 free colonists, between 1000 and 1800 convicts, and 11,000 Russian peasants of the district

* Bus. Erd.—Bes. Vol. I. p. 1126.

of Nerzhinsk : 6000 of these latter are employed in cutting and carrying wood, making and transporting charcoal ; while the rest, who live at some distance from the mines, cultivate a certain portion of ground, and bring in winter the produce to the magazines of the founderies. The annual expences may generally be rated at £14,800. CHAP.
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5. Some mines yielding silver have been lately discovered in the district of Krasnoyarsk near the Lena, between the rivers Yenis and Yenisei.

The gold of Catharinenburgh is obtained at the rate of 40 guineas per pound ; and as when coined it produces £68 5s. the profit is not very considerable.

The silver and gold from Kolyvan is procured without any expence, as I have before-mentioned. A pound of silver from Nerzhinsk is said to cost between 16s. and £1 ; and as the same quantity of this metal, when coined, is equal to 22 roubles 75 copecs and $\frac{1}{2}$, or = about £4 10s. $\frac{1}{2}$ d. the profit is great. The gold extracted from this silver is obtained for £11 8s. per pound.

2. The crown possesses at present but very few copper and iron works.

The iron works in the north part of the district of Olonetz produce annually between 8 or 10,000 poods of cast iron for guns, bombs, and balls ; and 15,000 of indifferent iron in bars and plates : those of the Uralian mountains employ above 1700 workmen, and 26,800 peasants ; and yielded, in 1772, 423,987 poods of iron in bars and plates, which were chiefly used for the army and navy : that of Kamensk gave in the same year 93,000 poods of iron, which were forged into guns, and 8172 into bars.

Four copper founderies on the west side of the Uralian mountains, in the government of Orenburg, and three in Permia,

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Permian, produced, in 1772, only 13,868 poods of copper.

At Catharinenburgh the crown has established a mint for coining the copper procured from the imperial and private founderies into that species of money which is current throughout Russia, and which is transported by water to Moscow, Petersburg, and other parts.

II. Private mines and founderies come next under consideration. The greatest part of those mines that supply such an immense quantity of iron and copper, are mostly situated in the Uralian mountains, and the hills stretching from them, a few in the government of Moscow excepted, whose produce is but small.

The Uralian mountains contain 105 founderies, 56 of which are for iron, 37 for copper, and the remainder for both metals. The peasants, part of whom belong to the proprietors, and part to the crown, employed in the mines and founderies, amount to 95,000. In 1772* these works yielded 130,169 poods of copper, and 4,558,718 of cast iron.

The duty paid to the crown from the private proprietors is 4 copecs, or nearly 2*d.* for every pood of cast iron, beside 5 copecs upon every pood for exportation.

With respect to the copper, the proprietors are obliged to sell three quarters of the whole produce of the mines to the crown at Catharinenburgh, at the low rate of £1 2*s.* per pood †. The remainder they either sell to the crown at the same place, at £1. 14*s.* per pood; at Moscow, for £2. 2*s.*; or at Petersburg, for £2. 4*s.*

* We must take this year as the average standard, as being previous to the rebellion of Pugatchef, who destroyed several of the founderies; but most of them have been since re-established.

† By an edict of the empress, dated July 1, 1780, the proprietors, instead of selling

three quarters of the copper to the crown at £1. 2*s.* per pood, are now only obliged to dispose of half at that price: this new regulation must have somewhat reduced the profits of the copper coinage. See Journ. St. Pet. for 1780, p. 53.

At Catharinenburgh copper money to the value of ^{CHAP. VI.} £400,000 is annually coined. The crown receives a pood of this metal, upon an average, at £1. 2s. 6d.; and issues it when struck at £3. 4s.

From these data government appears to gain annually from the mines, and duties upon iron, as follows.

Gain upon the copper coinage at Catharinenburgh	£257,625	0
44,000 pounds of silver, and 1,200 of gold, the annual produce from the mines of Kolyvan, when coined, yield	—	—
16,320 pounds of silver, and 160 of gold, from the mines of Nerzhinsk	—	—
Government iron works	—	—
Duty on 4,558,718 poods of cast iron	—	—
	£679,182	13

The iron and copper are transported by means of the Kofva, Tchuffovaja, Bielaya, and Kama, into the Volga: some of the vessels descend that river, in order to supply with iron the provinces situated along its banks; but far the greatest numbers are towed up the stream to Nishnei-Novogorod, and Tver, and through the canal of Vishnei-Voloshok to Petersburg. The vessels, which set out immediately upon the breaking of the frost in the spring, commonly perform this navigation before the end of autumn; but they sometimes are obliged to winter by the way.

C H A P. VII.

Description of the canal of Vishnèi-Voloshok, which unites the Caspian and the Baltick.—Canal of Ladoga.—Project of uniting the Don and the Volga.

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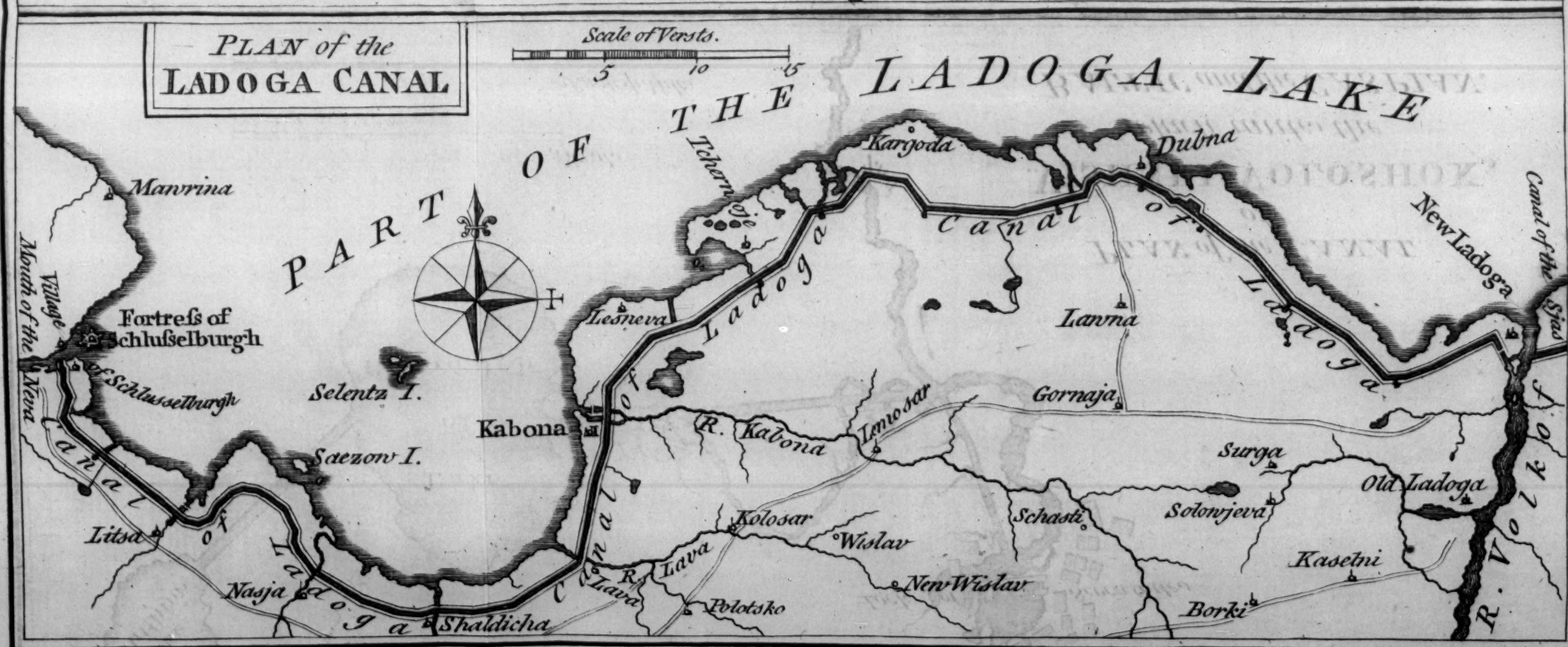
THERE is no kingdom, perhaps, in the globe wherein the inland navigation is carried through such an extent of country as in Russia; for it is possible to convey goods by water 4472 miles from the frontiers of China to Petersburg, with an interruption only of about 60 miles*; and from Astracan to the same capital through a tract of 1434 miles, without once landing them.

The water communication between Astracan and Petersburg, or between the Caspian and the Baltick, is formed by means of the celebrated canal of Vishnèi-Voloshok, which I examined upon the spot, and a description of which I reserved for the present occasion.

This great work, begun and completed under the reign of Peter the Great, has been so considerably improved by order of the present empress, that vessels now reach Petersburg in less than half the time which they formerly employed.

* Having in a former publication (Russian Discoveries, p. 245.) given a short sketch of the inland navigation from Tobolsk to the frontiers of China, I shall not repeat it here; but shall state, in a few words, that from Tobolsk to the Volga. At Tobolsk the barks ascend the Tobol, the Tura, and the Tigil, which rises in the mountains

separating Siberia from Europe: from the Tigil the merchandize is transported across a neck of land of about 52 miles to the Tchuffovaia: there the merchants re-imbark the goods, descend the Tchuffovaia into the Kama, to its junction with the Volga a little above Casan.



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T. Kitchen Sent. Sculp.

By examining a map of Russia, we find that the Tvertza joins the Volga at Tver; that the Shlina forms the lake Maftino, which gives rise to the Mafta: that the latter falls, after a course of about 234 miles, into the lake Ilmen, from which issues the river Volkof, and runs 130 miles to the lake Ladoga, which supplies the Neva: so that, in effect, the Shlina, the Mafta, the Volkof, and the Neva, may be considered as the same river, flowing into and through different lakes, and only changing its name at various intervals. By uniting, therefore, the Shlina which communicates with the Baltick, with the Tvertza which flows by the Volga into the Caspian, is formed the junction of those two seas. This junction is made by the canal of Vishnei-Voloshok, where the Shlina is united to the Tvertza by the following canals and rivulets, for the relative situation of which I shall refer to the figures in the annexed plan.

Close to Vishnei-Voloshok, the Shlina is formed by the confluence of the two rivulets Shlina and Zna; near the latter are the sources of the Tvertza. In order to join the Tvertza and the Zna, the following works were made under Peter the Great.

1. Near the village of Klutshina a cut was dug to the small lake of the same name; a second to the lake of Gorodolub; and a third from thence to the Zna. 2. At the same village, just below the first cut, a lock of four gates was constructed across the Shlina, in order to stop the course of that rivulet; and, by means of the said cuts and lakes, to convey water to the Zna above Vishnei-Voloshok. 3. But to keep this supply of water in reserve, and to let as much in to the town as is judged necessary, a great lock of seven gates was built across the Zna below the third cut. 4. The Zna and the Tvertza were united by a canal, beginning from the

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sources of the latter; and at the end of the canal a lock was made. 5. The natural course of the Zna was shut up by two locks in the town (at *a* and *b*), one of which may also serve for a passage. 6. A canal was dug from the Zna to the Shlina, at the end of which is the lock of the Zna.

The several canals are supplied with water, and the vessels are navigated from the Tvertza into the canal of the Zna by the following operation of the locks.

The locks of Klutshina, those of *a* and *b* in the town, and that of the Zna being shut, the lock of the Tvertza is opened, and the waters of the Zna and Shlina are conveyed through the canal of the Tvertza into that river, and the barks pass into the Zna at Vishnei-Voloshok. When a sufficient number have been admitted, the lock of the Tvertza is shut; and the waters being raised to a certain level (which seldom takes more than two or three days), by means of the lock of seven gates, that of the Zna is opened; and the barks are gradually let down a small fall to the number of about twenty in an hour. At night the lock is shut. If on the following day there is sufficient depth, the barks continue descending through the lock of the Zna; or, if not, they must remain for a day or two until there is a sufficient body of water collected. Having by these means all passed into the Shlina, they proceed, without interruption, through the lake Mastino to the beginning of the Mast, where a lock has been lately constructed, which holds the waters of this lake in reserve.

By this reservoir the navigation is so greatly facilitated, that the lock of the Zna being shut and that of the Tvertza open, the latter river, which was formerly almost dry during several weeks, is now generally navigable, even in the midst of summer, within two days after the passage of the barks: in

spring, the supply of water from the melting of the snows is so considerable, that the locks both of the Tvertza and of the Zna are open at the same time. CHAP.
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With respect to the navigation of the Mafta, several rivulets falling into it are confined by locks, which, being opened successively as the barks are passing, fill the river, and render the shallows navigable; and, being again closed, hold perpetual reservoirs of water for the same purpose: this operation is performed five or six times in the summer. By some other works lately constructed, a considerable addition of water has been obtained; and it is expected, that the Tvertza will become always navigable, and that the lock of the Mafta will only be shut for a short time.

The boats employed on this occasion are towed by ten horses up the Tvertza to Vishnei-Voloshok, between ten and twelve miles a day; from which place they are rowed as far as Novogorod. Each bark is provided with at least ten men; those which are laden with hemp require twenty-two. At Noshino and Bassatino they change pilots, and take in ten additional men to pass the upper and small cataracts. At Apezenskoi Radok, which stands at the head of the great cataracts, they procure another pilot and two assistants; and, on account of the rapidity of the current, increase their complement generally to sixty men. The fall of the river is $122\frac{1}{2}$ yards perpendicular in twenty miles; and the stream is so violent, that the boats not unfrequently shoot along this space within the hour: but they are sometimes dashed against the rocks, or overfet by accident: in the year 1778 above thirty were lost.

From the foot of the great cataracts the pilot of Vishnei-Voloshok steers the bark 120 miles further down several shoals,

BOOK VI. shoals, which however have lately been considerably reduced, and almost levelled. In spring the vessels can be allowed to draw $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet water; in summer only 26 inches. In autumn the navigation from Vishnèi Voloshok to Petersburg is performed in little more than a month; in summer in three weeks; and in spring only a fortnight is required. In the year 1777, 3485 barks passed through the canal.

The vessels being steered down the Mašta, across the lake Ilmen to Novogorod, descend the Volkof, and enter the Ladoga canal, a plan of which is annexed to that of Vishnèi-Voloshok. This canal was begun in 1718, by order of Peter I.; and was finished during the reign of the empress Anne: it was carried at first only as far as the small village of Kabona, to a rivulet of the same name, which falls into the lake to the east of Schluffelburgh; but now reaches, without interruption, from the Volkof to the Neva. Its length is 67 miles and an $\frac{1}{2}$; and its breadth 70 feet. Its mean depth of water in summer is seven, and in spring ten feet. It is supplied by the Volkof and eight rivulets; the latter, being received into reservoirs, are admitted into the canal by means of flood-gates; and the superfluous water is discharged through an equal number of openings on the opposite side. The barks enter through the sluices of the Volkof, and go out through those of Schluffelburgh. In 1778, 4927 vessels passed through the canal of Ladoga.

A scheme has been lately projected to form a water communication between the Ladoga and Bielo Ozero to the Duna, in order to unite the White Sea and the Baltick, and to improve the inland commerce between Archangel and Petersburg. The only part of this plan yet finished is a short cut of about seven miles from the Volkof to the Sjas.

The

The grand project of uniting the Caspian and the Baltick with the Black Sea by the junction of the Don and the Volga, was planned by Peter the Great. These two rivers approach each other within the distance of 40 miles in the province of Astracan; and the two rivulets Iloffla and Camashinska, the former whereof falls into the Don and the latter into the Volga, are only separated by an interval of about five miles. Could these two rivulets be made navigable and united by a canal, the Black Sea would be joined with the Caspian and the Baltick. With this view Peter I. sent Perry*, an English engineer, to the spot: the canal was begun under his inspection, and a cut was actually made the length of a mile and an half; but the scheme was dropped, from an idea that it was not practicable. Being revived, however, by the present empress, professor Lovitz was entrusted with the execution of it. Having taken a level of the ground between the Iloffla and the Camashinska, he traced out the canal, and was preparing to begin the work, when, in 1774, he was wantonly murdered by the impostor Pugatchef. According to the plan of Lovitz, the direct distance between the two rivulets is only five miles; but the great difficulty would consist in deepening their beds, and procuring a supply of water sufficient to render them navigable. The Don, however, being only 40 miles from the Volga, and land-carriage in this country being extremely cheap and easy, it is imagined that the advantages resulting from the projected canal would be scarcely equivalent to the expence of forming it.

* See Perry's State of Russia.

C H A P. VIII.

Divine service in the Slavonian and Greek tongue performed by the archbishop of Moscow.—Blessing of the waters.—Publick feast given to the populace.—Its melancholy conclusion.—Description of the vapour-baths.—Departure from Petersburg.—Journey through Russian Finland.—Sledges.—Mode of travelling.—Wiburgh.—Fredericksham.

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THE reader, in the first part of the present chapter, will meet with accounts of various ceremonies and national customs, which will follow each other in an unconnected detail, but which were too curious to be omitted.

During our stay at Petersburg, one Sunday morning, about nine o'clock, we, in company with Sir James Harris, had the honour of attending prince Potemkin to the archbishop of Moscow, in order to be present at a Slavonian and Greek service. This learned prelate, whose name is Plato, received us with great politeness; and, at the close of a short conversation, conducted us into the church. Upon his entrance the choristers began a short hymn*, which they finished as he approached the shrine: having then said a short prayer, he placed himself upon a raised seat in the middle of the church†; and taking off his mandyas, or common garment, the attendant priests kissed his hand while they delivered to him the different parts of the costly pontifical vest-

* "The Lord's name is praised from the rising up of the sun, to the going down of the same." Psalm cxiii. v. 3.

† The bishops alone have the privilege of

robing themselves in the middle of the church: the common priests put on their ecclesiastical vestments in the shrine.

ments,

ments, which, in receiving, he raised to his lips *, before he invested himself with them ; he also placed on his head a crown richly ornamented with pearls and precious stones. We were informed that this dress is similar to the imperial robe that was formerly worn by the Greek emperors of Constantinople, and which they permitted the supreme dignitaries of the church to put on at the time of divine service ; and the same attire still continues to distinguish the hierarchy of the Greek church established in Russia from the lower orders. The archbishop, being robed, repaired to the shrine within the great folding-doors, and soon afterwards began the celebration of divine worship. Part of the service was performed in the Slavonian tongue by the different priests, and part by the archbishop in the Greek language, which he pronounced according to the accent of the modern Greeks. In conformity to the rules of the church, no organ, or any other musical instrument, was introduced ; but the vocal harmony, which consisted in hymns, was exceedingly pleasing. Lighted tapers and incense seemed no less essential parts of their worship than among the Roman catholics. Towards the conclusion of the prayers the archbishop and clergy retired into the shrine, to receive the communion. The folding-doors were immediately shut, and none of the laity † at that time partook of this rite, but we as strangers were allowed to view what passed through a side-door that had been left open for that purpose. The communicants stood during the ceremony ; and the wine was, according to usual custom, mixed with warm water ; the bread, which was cut into small pieces, was put into the wine, and the elements of both kinds were given at the same time in a spoon.

* In order to kiss the cross, which is embroidered upon each part of the dress.

† The laity generally receive the sacrament once or twice in the year.

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The whole service lasted about an hour: the archbishop, having pronounced the final benediction, again seated himself in the middle of the church, divested himself of his pontifical garments, and clothed himself in his common robe. We then followed him to his house, where we found a breakfast, consisting of an eel-pye, a sterlet, red and pickled herrings, and various sorts of *liqueurs* and wines. After enjoying for some time the intelligent and entertaining conversation of the archbishop, who spoke fluently the French tongue, we made our acknowledgements and retired.

Before our departure from the metropolis, we had an opportunity of being present at another religious rite of a more publick nature, the Blessing of the Waters; which was performed on the 6th of January, O. S. though not with its antient pomp and magnificence. This ceremony used to be held upon the Neva, upon which occasion the sovereign attended in person upon the ice, and all the regiments of guards were drawn out in great solemnity. Its pomp, though still splendid, is now much diminished. I shall here describe the principal circumstances which fell under my observation.

Jan. 17,
N. S.

Upon the frozen surface of a small canal between the admiralty and the palace was erected an octagon pavilion of wood, painted green, and ornamented with boughs of fir: it was open at the sides, and crowned by a dome, supported by eight pillars. On the top was the figure of St. John with the cross, and four paintings representing some of the miracles of our Saviour: in the inside a carved image of the Holy Spirit under the emblem of a dove was suspended, as is usual in the sanctuaries of the Greek churches. The floor of this edifice was carpetted, excepting a square vacancy in the middle, in which an opening was cut in the ice, and a ladder let down into the water. The pavilion was enclosed

enclosed by palifadoes adorned with boughs of fir, and the intermediate space also covered with carpets. From one of the windows of the palace a scaffolding was erected, ornamented with red cloth, which reached to the extremity of the canal. At the time appointed the empress appeared at the window of the palace; and the archbishop, who was to perform the benediction, passed at the head of a numerous procession along the scaffolding into the octagon, round which were drawn up a few soldiers of each regiment quartered at Petersburg: after having pronounced a few prayers*, he descended the ladder, plunged a cross into the water, and then sprinkled the colours of each regiment. At the conclusion of this ceremony, the archbishop retired, and the people rushed in crowds into the octagon†, drank with eagerness the water, sprinkled it upon their clothes, and carried some of it away for the purpose of purifying their houses.

On the 6th of December we were witnesses to a very singular entertainment given to the publick by a Russian, who had acquired a large fortune by farming, during four years only, the right of vending spirituous liquors. Upon surrendering his contract, he gave, as a proof of his gratitude to the lower class of people, by whom he had enriched himself, a feast in the garden of the summer-palace, which was announced by hand-bills distributed throughout the city. As strangers, desirous of observing the national manners, we did not fail to be present at this carousal, which commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon. Upon our first arrival, we walked round the gardens and examined the pre-

* The reader will find the ceremonies and prayers used on this occasion in Dr. King's Rites of the Greek Church, p. 386.

† I was informed that some of the popu-

lace plunged into the water; and that others dipped their children into it; but as I was not myself witness to these circumstances, I cannot vouch for their truth.

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parations. A large semi-circular table was covered with all kinds of provision, piled in different shapes, and in the greatest profusion: Large slices of bread and caviare, dried sturgeon, carp, and other fish, were ranged to a great height in the form of pent-houses and pyramids, and garnished with craw-fish, onions, and pickles. In different parts of the garden were rows of casks full of spirituous liquors, and still larger vessels of wine, beer, and quafs. Among the decorations I observed the representation of an immense whale in pasteboard, covered with cloth and gold and silver brocade, and filled in the inside with bread, dried fish, and other provisions.

All sorts of games and diversions were exhibited for the amusement of the populace. At the extremity of the grounds was a large square of ice well swept for the skaters; near which were two machines like the swinging vehicles at Bartholomew Fair. One of these machines consisted of two cross-beams fixed horizontally to a pole in the center by means of a pivot: from the ends of the beams hung four sledges, in which the people seated themselves, and were turned round with great velocity: the other had four wooden horses suspended from the beams, and the riders were whirled round in the like manner as their rivals in the sledges. Beyond these were two ice-hills, similar to those which I have described on a former occasion *, and for the same diversion. Two poles, above twenty feet in height, were also erected with colours flying; and at the top of each was placed a piece of money, as a prize for those who could swarm up and seize it. The poles, being rubbed with oil, soon froze in this severe climate: many and tedious were the attempts of the various

* See Vol. I. p. 484.

compe-

competitors in this slippery ascent to fame. The scene was lively and gay ; for above 40,000 persons of both sexes were assembled on the occasion. CHAP.
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Having thus far satisfied our curiosity, we found our way, not without great difficulty, through the croud to a pavilion in the garden, where the master of the feast and several of the nobility were assembled, and were regaled with a cold collation, and various sorts of wine.

It had been preconcerted, that, upon the firing of a rocket, the people were to drink a glass of spirituous liquor ; and, upon the discharge of a second, to begin the repast. But the impatience of the populace anticipated the necessity of the second signal, and the whole multitude was soon and at once in motion. The whale was the chief object of contention : within the space of a few minutes he was entirely divested of his gaudy trappings, which became the spoils of his successful invaders. They had no sooner flead off his drapery, and secured the fragments of rich brocade, than they rent him into a thousand pieces, in order to seize the provisions with which his inside was stored. The remaining people, who were too numerous to be all engaged in contending about the whale, were employed in uncovering the pent-houses, and pulling down the pyramids ; in conveying with one hand provender to their mouths, and with the other to their pockets. Others crowded round the casks and hogs-heads, and with great wooden ladles lapped incessantly wine, beer, and spirits.

The confusion and riot, which soon succeeded, is better conceived than described ; and we thought it expedient to retire. The evening was closed with a superb illumination of the gardens, and magnificent fire-works.

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But the consequences of this frost were indeed dreadful. The cold had suddenly increased with such violence, that Fahrenheit's thermometer, which at mid-day stood only at 4, sunk towards the close of the evening to 15 below freezing point: consequently many intoxicated persons were frozen to death; not a few fell a sacrifice to drunken quarrels; and others were robbed and murdered in the more retired parts of the city, as they were returning late to their homes. From a comparison of the various reports, we had reason to conclude, that at least 400 persons lost their lives upon this melancholy occasion.

The Russian baths have been described by every traveller who has given to the publick any relation of this country. Instead of transcribing from the accounts of others, I shall relate what fell under my own immediate notice.

In one of the Russian villages we entered a bathing-house, and examined it with as much attention as the extreme heat would permit. It was a wooden building of one room, with small windows like those of the common cottages. Within an old woman was employed in preparing the bath; and as the violent smoke and heat rendered it scarcely possible for us to stay in the room for the space of a minute, we took our station at the door, and observed the process. She first made a fire under an arch of large granite stones about four feet in height, and when they were sufficiently heated, she sprinkled them at different intervals with water, which immediately flew off in vapour. She then took from the fire, by means of two sticks, several small red-hot pebbles, and put them into pails and troughs of water, which acquired thereby different degrees of warmth. In about half an hour three men entered the bath, and, taking off their clothes, remained within, while

while the old woman continued to throw water upon the arch of stones, which heated the room to a prodigious degree. They then lay down upon a sort of table, and, having lathered their bodies with soap, she rubbed them lightly with a bundle of twigs in full foliage. On account of the excessive heat, we were driven from the door; and soon afterwards the men, having their bodies quite suffused with a deep crimson from the effects of the vapour, rushed out, and instantly plunged themselves into the river. CHAP.
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Another bath which we entered near the convent of Yurief at Novogorod, being larger and more commodious, we were able to remain for some time spectators of the whole process. It was a large wooden building, containing, like that just described, only one room, and was provided with ranges of broad benches, placed like steps one above the other almost to the height of the ceiling. Within were about twenty persons undressed; some were lying upon the benches; some were sitting, others standing; some were washing their bodies with soap; others rubbing themselves with small branches of oak-leaves tied together like a rod; some were pouring hot water upon their heads, others cold water; a few, almost exhausted by the heat, were standing in the open air, or repeatedly plunging into the Volkof*.

I shall

* Travellers are too apt not to distinguish between the customs of the common people and those of the nobles; often imputing to the latter what is true only of the former. The Abbé de Chappe, in his account of his Journey through Siberia, has in many instances been guilty of this absurdity; and the reader is led to conclude from his narrative, that the nobles bathe promiscuously in publick like the common people; that they are equally addicted to spirituous liquors; and that they are as rude and inele-

gant in their entertainments and behaviour; the very reverse of which is the fact. The author of the Antidote to his Travels has not failed, with a glow of national patriotism, to censure such indiscriminate accounts. In no one instance has the Abbé been more erroneous than in his description of the baths. After a ludicrous relation of them, he adds, "These baths are in use all over Russia; every inhabitant of this vast tract of land, from the sovereign to the meanest subject, bathes twice a week, and" in

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I shall add on this subject the following account communicated to me by an English gentleman at Petersburg, who was ordered to bathe for his health. "The bathing room was small and low, and contained a heap of large stones piled over a fire, and two broad benches, one near the ground, and the other near the cieling. Small buckets of water being occasionally thrown upon the heated stones, filled the room with a hot and suffocating vapour; which, from its tendency to ascend, rendered the upper part much hotter than the lower. Having taken off my clothes, I laid myself down upon the highest bench, while the bathing woman was preparing tubs of hot and cold water, and continued to increase the vapour in the manner above-mentioned. Having dipped a branch of twigs into the hot water, she repeatedly sprinkled, and then rubbed with it my whole body. In about half an hour I removed to the lower bench, which I found much cooler; when the bathing-woman lathered me from head to foot with soap, scrubbed me with flannel for the space of ten minutes, and throwing several buckets of warm water over me till the soap was entirely washed off, she finally dried me with napkins. As I put on my clothes in a room without a fire, I had an opportunity of remarking, that the cold air had little effect on my body, though in so heated a state; for while I was dressing I felt a glow of warmth which continued during the whole night. This circumstance convinced me, that, when the natives rush from the vapour-baths into the river, or even roll in the snow, their

"in the same manner. Every individual, even of the smallest fortune, has a private bath in his own house, in which the father, mother, and children sometimes bathe all together." And again, "The

"baths of the rich differ only from those of the poor people in being more clean." But such shameful misrepresentations scarcely deserve to be mentioned, were it not to expose their falsity.

"sensations

“sensations are in no respect disagreeable, nor the effects in
“any degree unwholesome.”

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Though the hardness of the Russians has, with reason, been generally attributed to the sudden extremes of heat and cold which they experience on these occasions, yet other causes are not wanting that may concur to this effect. The peasants change their dress without the least attention to the variation of the seasons; on the same day they wear only their coarse shirts and drawers, or are clad in the warmest clothing. They are totally unacquainted with the luxury of beds; sleeping either upon the tops of their stoves, or on the bare floor, sometimes in their clothes, and at other times almost naked. Their cottages also are rendered exceedingly hot, from the number of persons crowded into a small space, and from the stoves, which are almost always heated, even in the midst of summer; so that when they go out it is like issuing from a warm bath into the open air. The children are not tenderly nurtured, but are equally inured from their earliest infancy to the most opposite extremes. We seldom, indeed, passed through a village, in which we did not observe several running about the streets, and others, who were scarcely able to crawl, standing or lying near the doors of the cottages, with no other covering than their shirts, even in rainy or frosty weather. Thus the natives are used to sudden changes of heat and cold, and accustomed from their infancy to the hardiest kind of life.

On the evening of the 3d of February, 1779, we took our departure from Peterburgh, and, travelling all night, arrived on the following day at Wiburgh. I took the following precautions to guard against the cold. I had on a suit of Bath-drugget lined with flannel; two pair of worsted stockings; slippers, over which I drew boots well secured

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with flannel and fur: these boots I generally wore in the carriage, but pulled off when I entered a house. If the weather had proved uncommonly severe, I was provided with a kind of sheep-skin case with the wool on the inside for each of my legs, which reached to my waist, and was large enough to enclose my boots. I wrapped round my body a great coat of blue nankeen lined with lamb-skin, and occasionally added a large *pelisse*, or fur robe. I had a bear's-skin muff; and my head was enveloped in a black velvet cap quilted with silk and cotton, which covered my cheeks, was tied under my chin, and might, if necessary, be drawn over the face. Thus accoutred, I could venture to defy even the cold of Lapland, whither our course was directed.

Our train consisted of eight sledges, including those appropriated to the baggage, as, on account of the narrowness of the roads, each person had a separate carriage. There are various kinds of sledges used for travelling in this country: some are entirely close; others quite open; those which we employed were partly open, and partly covered. A sledge of this sort is shaped like a cradle; its tilt, which rises from the hinder extremity, and projects to about two feet, was open in front, but provided with curtains, which might be drawn and tied together whenever the weather was severe*. The outside was secured with matting and oil-skin; and the inside with coarse cloth. Within was a mattress, feather-bed, and coverlid, or quilt of coarse cloth. In this travelling couch I sometimes lay extended at full length; sometimes sat cross-legged like a Turk; and at other times raised myself on a seat formed by two cushions. Each sledge was drawn by two horses, which, on account of the narrow-

* The reader will see the form of a sledge in the back-ground of the engraving of the Russian peasant, in vol. I.

ness of the roads, were harnessed one before the other. The usual rate of travelling is from six to eight miles in the hour. The motion of the carriage over the beaten snow was so easy as to be almost imperceptible ; and I never performed any journey in a more commodious manner.

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Though we continued our route during the night, and there was no moon, yet an *Aurora Borealis* and the whiteness of the snow supplied an agreeable species of twilight. The road, or rather path, through which our route lay, was scarcely more than a yard in breadth, sunk two or three feet beneath the level of the snow, and hardened by the repeated pressure of the horses and sledges. When two carriages met in this narrow track, the horses, which turned out of the way, sunk into the soft untrodden snow as high as their girths.

Feb. 4. Upon our arrival at Wiburgh about noon, we were conducted, by the governor's recommendation, to the house of a merchant, who entertained us in the most hospitable manner.

Russian Finland, which formerly belonged to the Swedes, was partly ceded to the Russians by the peace of Nyfadt in 1721, and partly at the treaty of Abo in 1743. This province retains most of its antient privileges, with some occasional modifications, which have been necessarily introduced under the new government. The country produces, beside pasture, rye, oats, and barley, but not sufficient for the inhabitants. Wiburgh retains its own civil and criminal courts of justice : in penal cases, not capital, the punishments prescribed by the provincial judicature are inflicted ; but whenever a criminal is condemned to death, the Russian laws interpose, and, reprieving him from the sentence of beheading

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or hanging, as enjoined by the Swedish code, consign him to the knout and transportation to Siberia.

In the governor's court business is transacted in the Swedish, German, and Russian tongues: the peasants talk only the Finnish dialect; but the inhabitants of the towns understand also Swedish, and many of them German. The Lutheran is the established religion of the province; but the Greek worship has been lately introduced by the Russians. The Lutheran clergy, considering the cheapness of provisions, and the small progress which luxury has made in this country, enjoy salaries not inadequate to their stations, some of their benefices amounting to £200 per annum, and the lowest to £120.

Wiburgh, the capital of Russian Finland, is a fortified town, and contains about 9000 inhabitants; a few houses are constructed with brick, but the greatest part are of wood. The principal commerce of the province is carried on at this place. The merchant, in whose house we were lodged, informed me, that the exports, the greatest part of which are purchased by the English, are planks, tallow, pitch, and tar; and the imports, which are mostly supplied from France and Holland, wine, spices, and salt; that in 1778, 99 ships arrived there, of which 65 were English.

Feb. 5. Having received an invitation to dinner from the governor, we repaired to his house at one o'clock, and partook of an elegant repast, at the conclusion of which we returned to our lodgings; and having paid our warmest thanks (for he would accept no other acknowledgements) to our hospitable landlord; and quitting Wiburgh pursued our journey through the night.

In our route we did not once experience the least delay for want of horses, the governor having, with that polite atten-

tion which marked his character, sent previous orders, that relays should be ready for us at every post. The country through which we passed was a succession of hill and dale, abounding with forests of fir and beech, interspersed with numerous lakes, and thickly overspread with shattered fragments of granite, which looked like the wrecks of mountains. There was no moon, nor even the smallest gleam of an *Aurora Borealis*, yet the snow cast a strong light; and our train of sledges made a very picturesque appearance as they winded round the whitened hills, pierced into the thick forests, or extended in a straight line along the frozen surface of the lakes. During our course, the still silence of the night was frequently relieved by the carols of our drivers, who frequently sang the most simple and pleasing airs. In this progress I beguiled the length of the journey, either by listening to their songs echoed by the surrounding forests, by admiring the unusual cast of the nocturnal scenery, or by slumbering in my travelling couch as comfortably as in a bed. The weather was uncommonly warm for the season of the year, the mercury in the thermometer scarcely descending at midnight more than three degrees below freezing point.

Feb. 6. We arrived about nine in the morning at Fredericksham, and took up our lodging at an inn, where we met with very comfortable accommodations.

Fredericksham, when in the possession of the Swedes, was only a small village, but has been fortified by the Russians, for the purpose of securing the district in Finland, which was ceded to them at the peace of Abo. The town is small and regular: in the centre is a square, from which the streets extend at right angles. The houses, excepting one of brick, are all constructed with wood, but in the neatest manner. The fortifications are very strong: the garrison and several companies

companies of soldiers, quartered in the neighbouring villages, amount to about 6000 troops. The inhabitants carry on a small commerce with England and Holland; export planks and tallow; and import salt and tobacco.

The governour of Wiburgh having previously dispatched a letter of recommendation in our favour to the commander of the garrison of Fredericksham, the latter, accompanied with the officers of his corps, honoured us with a visit immediately upon our arrival, and invited us to dinner. These marks of attention and hospitality are always pleasing to travellers in a foreign country, but were greatly enhanced in such a season of dreariness. Our host, an old German officer, who had seen much service, and possessed all that liberal frankness generally conspicuous in veterans, enlivened an excellent entertainment with the vivacity of his conversation. The floors of the apartments, instead of being covered with carpets, were, according to a custom not unusual in these parts, strewn with leaves and small twigs of pines and firs, which afford, when bruised, a pleasant smell, and give a cleanly appearance to the rooms.

Feb. 7. From Fredericksham we continued our journey through a hilly country abounding with forests and lakes, and in about 34 miles arrived at the frontiers of this empire.

The peasants of Finland differ widely from the Russians in their look and dress: they had for the most part fair complexions, and many of them red hair: they shave their beards, wear their hair parted at the top, and hanging to a considerable length over their shoulders*. We could not avoid remarking, that they were in general more civilized than the

* The Russians have generally dark complexions and hair: they also wear their beards, and cut their hair short.



Scorodomof del.

Teigel sculptit.

A FIN PEASANT felling GAME.

Published according to Act of Parliament. Jan. 1st 1784. by T. Cadell. in the Strand.



Russians; and that even in the smallest villages we were able to procure much better accommodations than we usually met with in the largest towns which we had hitherto visited in this empire. The inhabitants of this province enjoy considerable privileges, and profess a different religion: how far these circumstances may render them more enlightened than the Russians is a curious question, which cannot be answered by us who continued in the country during so short a time.

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T R A V E L S
I N T O
S W E D E N.

B O O K VII.

C H A P. I.

*Entrance into Swedish Finland.—Louisa.—Helsingfors.—
Abo.—Journey in sledges over part of the frozen surface
of the Gulf of Bothnia.—Isle of Aland.—Passage by sea to
the coast of Sweden.—Journey to Stockholm.*

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THE limits of Russia and Sweden, as settled by the peace of Abo, are formed by the river Kymen, on the south side whereof was a wooden house, a rampart of earth, and a small battery. Being admitted through a wooden barrier, guarded by a Russian soldier, we crossed a bridge to a small island, passed another bridge over a stream which was a branch of the Kymen; and went through a second barrier, at which stood a Swedish sentinel. In quitting the Russian dominions our baggage was slightly searched; and in entering

ing Swedish Finland, the same ceremony was performed CHAP.
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by the custom-house officers of that district. Close to the
frontiers we changed horses at Lilla-Abbors, and in less than
an hour arrived at Louisa.

Soon after our departure from Wiburgh, the weather changed from very near a thaw to a severe frost, the mercury in the thermometer sinking to 22 below freezing point. This sudden alteration in the state of the atmosphere was in no wise disagreeable: the warmth of our clothing enabled us to defy the most intense frost; nor had I once occasion to use all the coverings with which I had the precaution to provide myself. The face was the only part which I found difficult to secure against the attacks of the cold, and more particularly at night, when I was inclined to sleep. In that state I generally covered my cheeks and forehead with the flaps of my velvet cap, leaving only my nose and mouth free for respiration; and over them I sometimes held my muff, or placed my handkerchief, which was attended with this inconvenience: as the breath instantly congeled, the parts of the muff or handkerchief, in contact with my mouth, became in a short time so clotted with icicles, that I was obliged repeatedly to change their position, in order to prevent an accumulation of the frozen particles.

Louisa is an open town upon a bay of the Gulf of Bothnia: and is guarded towards the sea by a small fortress. The houses are all of wood, and of two stories; they are painted with a red colour, and look much neater than those of the common towns and villages in Russia. Soon after our arrival we waited upon the governor, to obtain an order for post horses, and to procure information with respect to our intended route to Stockholm. In summer travellers, in passing from Peterburgh to the capital of Sweden, commonly go

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by land to Abo: there they take ship, and, steering through the numerous islands which rise in that part of the Gulf of Bothnia to the eastern shore of Aland, they cross that island to its western coast, where they again embark, and proceed directly through a more open sea to Sweden. In winter the passage across the Gulf is not always practicable; for the channels between the numberless islands are mostly frozen, so as not to admit vessels, yet seldom sufficiently strong to support carriages; and, when that happens, the remaining part of the open gulf, from Aland to the coast of Sweden, which is not sprinkled with islands, is generally so embarrassed with floating masses of ice, as to render the navigation extremely dangerous. The usual way therefore, in winter, and which we intended to have pursued, lies round the Gulf of Bothnia, through Torneo in Swedish Lapland. We had anticipated the satisfaction we should receive from passing a few days at Torneo, a place rendered remarkable for the measurement of a degree by the celebrated Maupertuis; from making an excursion into Lapland beyond the Arctic Circle; from observing the manners and customs of the natives; and from riding in sledges drawn by rein-deer. But, alas! our curiosity was destined not to be gratified. Upon consulting the governor of Louisa, he informed us, that the season was too far advanced to proceed into Lapland; for if a general thaw should take place, which seemed very likely to happen, we should not be able to continue our route in sledges; and as we could not procure any carriages with wheels to convey us to Stockholm, we should be obliged to proceed by sea, which in the spring of the year is a very dangerous and uncertain navigation. He added also, that the passage across the Gulf of Bothnia was at this time fortunately practicable, as the channels between the small islands were sufficiently frozen to

bear sledges, and the other part of the gulf was not obstructed with floating masses of ice. And when the governor perceived that, notwithstanding the favourable opportunity of crossing the Gulf of Bothnia, and the dangers which would necessarily attend our journey by land, we seemed eager to pursue our expedition to Lapland, he pressed his advice with the most forcible reasons; and would not desist until he had even extorted a promise that we would proceed directly to Abo. The gentleman to whom we were indebted for this friendly remonstrance, was a sensible well-informed old man, of Scotch extraction, and had served during several years in France in the Royal Swedish regiment. During a long conversation which we held with him, "You have probably," he said, "conceived a bad opinion of Finland, from the regions which you have already traversed, which are the most desolate parts of the province; but I assure you, that a few miles from the sea-coast it is a very agreeable country, fertile in pasture, rye, oats, and barley. From the abundance of rivers and lakes, some of which are of considerable length, an inland navigation might easily be formed at little expence, and facilitate a communication between the different districts."

Feb. 9. In pursuance of his advice, instead of continuing our route towards Lapland, we made our way to Abo. We sat off at eight in the evening, and were lighted during the whole night by a beautiful *Aurora Borealis*: the thermometer was scarcely below freezing point. Our road lay near the shore of the Gulf of Bothnia, through a hilly, rocky, and woody country. I observed the ground thickly strewed with detached masses of granite, as if broken by some violent convulsion. We frequently saw large flights of grouse, black cocks, and ptarmigans. In these parts the large species

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cies of grouse, called the cock of the wood, a bird almost equal in size to a small turkey, is not uncommon; the moor-fowl and ptarmigans are very plentiful; but the black game is so abundant, that we seldom sat down to dinner, even at the commonest inns, without being regaled with a brace of those delicious birds.

Having passed several large lakes, with which the country abounds, and crossed the frozen surface of a bay of the Gulf of Bothnia, we arrived on the ensuing morning at Helsingfors, which stands in a very romantick situation, upon a rising shore, near several rocks and huge fragments of granite. Within a small distance of Helsingfors, and close to the gulf, the Swedes were constructing a fortress, which, when finished, will be the strongest in these parts. The harbour is the most commodious in Finland.

Agreeably to an invitation from the governor of Helsingfors, to whom we applied for further information respecting our passage across the Gulf of Bothnia, we repaired in the evening to a ball: the gentlemen and ladies all wore the new Swedish dress*; and amused themselves chiefly with minuets and English country dances. The company were very polite and attentive to us, and several accosted us in French.

Feb. 11. We quitted Helsingfors on the morning, and arrived at Abo, which is distant about 150 miles, on the evening of the 12th, through a tract of country that seemed better peopled than the other parts of Finland which we had hitherto traversed; and which was diversified with a beautiful mixture of hill and dale.

Abo, the capital of Swedish Finland, lies upon the point where the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland unite: the town,

* See the description and engravings of these dresses in the next chapter II.

which

which is not ill built, contains several brick-houses, but the generality are of wood painted red. The inhabitants export linen, corn, and planks. CHAP.
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We had scarcely arrived, when the burgomaster of the town obligingly waited upon us, and on the following morning conducted us to the university, which was founded in 1640 by Christina, and endowed with the same privileges as that of Upsala. It contained at that time about 300 students. The collection in the library amounted to 3000 volumes, a catalogue of which was published in 1655, and a second edition in 1685*. The books were removed in 1713 to Stockholm when the Russians had possession of the town; and were again restored to the university upon the peace of Nyftadt. There is also a school at Abo, which was founded by Gustavus Adolphus, for 300 scholars.

Feb. 13. About 40 miles from Abo we arrived upon the Gulf of Bothnia, and passed over the frozen surface along a track marked with two rows of small trees and boughs placed upright in the ice as a direction for travellers; we crossed occasionally several small islands and rocks, separated from each other by straits from fifty yards to four or five miles in breadth. At midnight we stopped upon the island Varifala till break of day, as well from the dread of large holes in the ice which render travelling by night extremely hazardous; as because our danger would have been extreme, if we had wandered from the path, and been lost upon the wide expanse of ice, which had nearly happened to colonel Floyd, as he thus describes in his journal. "A cowardly driver overturned me into the snow, but the fall was gentle. " Night came on, at first very much overcast, but afterwards illuminated by an *Aurora Borealis*, which was, however, not

* Arckenholtz Memoires de Christine, Tom. II. p. 309.

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“ in streaks like those usually in England, but a continued
 “ glare of red light. We arrived at length upon the Gulf,
 “ crossed a sheet of ice many miles in length, and some small
 “ rocky islands, upon one of which my driver suddenly
 “ turned into the yard of a peasant's cottage, and stopped.
 “ I soon perceived that he had lost his way : inquiry being
 “ in vain on my part, as I could not speak the language, I
 “ encouraged him by signs to endeavour to regain the
 “ track ; he complied, but with such ill humour, that he
 “ drove against a rock, and again overset me, though fortu-
 “ nately without any bad consequence ; he then passed by
 “ a narrow way through a wood, and soon arrived at the edge
 “ of the island. I listened eagerly for the sound of the
 “ other sledges, but to no purpose ; then, anxiously looking
 “ around me, I descried at some distance the boughs which
 “ mark the road over the ice, and, instantly pointing it out,
 “ we pursued the path, and after several miles overtook my
 “ companions, determined never again to lose sight of the
 “ last sledge. In crossing, however, another island, the sledge
 “ which immediately preceded mine suddenly stopped : we
 “ had again lost the way, but soon recovered it, and joined
 “ the party.”

Upon Varifala we found a comfortable village : the inha-
 bitants were Fins, and spoke only the Finnish tongue.

Feb. 14. We sat out early : the weather was hazy and
 unpromising, and a strong breeze began to freshen. The post
 was about 18 miles in length : we passed many small islands
 and rocks ; some covered with underwood, and sprinkled
 with villages ; others were nothing but bare granite, with-
 out a single habitation or tree. In a few places the ice of
 the gulf was a smooth sheet ; in others it was roughly frozen
 in waves and large masses. The vast extended plain of ice,
 broken

Broken in abrupt ridges, the boundless and dreary track ^{CHAP.}
marked only by a line of trees and boughs, and the rugged ^{I.}
rocks starting up on every side, afforded one of the most
desolate scenes imaginable.

We changed horses at Brando, an island which contained six or seven villages, a church, some arable land, and small woods. About three we arrived upon the island Cumlin, 36 miles from Varisala; and as the next post was above thirty miles, we prudently took up our quarters in a peasant's cottage, rather than again encounter the hazards of a journey by night. The peasants were well clothed; the men wore long cloth coats lined with sheep-skin; the women a striped kind of woollen stuff, of mixed colours, chiefly green, white, and red: they seemed very honest; and our servants had no occasion to employ the same vigilance in watching the luggage as was requisite in Russia*. The cottages were built like those in Russia, with whole trees piled one upon the other, and mortised and tenanted at each extremity; the timbers of several were sawed on the outside in the form of planks. They generally contain two or three apartments, small, but neat and clean; have all brick chimnies, and a semicircular fire-place high and narrow, in which the wood is placed upright, and by means of birch-bark instantaneously kindled. The villagers possessed many conveniences of life, which we did not meet with in Russia, particularly beds, and a greater variety of household furniture.

While our dinner was preparing, we strolled to a wind-mill situated on an eminence, from whence we commanded a full view of the island, which seemed a huge pile of rocks of red and grey granite. Near the village we observed three or four fields which had been sown with rye, and at a

* See Vol. I. p. 256.

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little distance a small wood of firs and birch; in the other parts we could discover nothing but juniper and moss. Beside the hut in which we were lodged, it contained a church and a few scattered cottages. The inhabitants of Cumlin spoke the Swedish language. The severe frost of the preceding day was succeeded by a sudden thaw, accompanied with rain and sleet; and in the evening a violent hurricane came on; we heard on all sides the cracking of the ice sounding like the explosions of thunder, and which alarmed us with the dread of being detained in so dreadful a spot: for if, as we had reason to apprehend, the ice had been broken up, it could not have been passed in sledges; and a continuance of the thaw for a fortnight at least would have been requisite before any communication by water could have been formed with the continent or neighbouring islands. The wind increasing to a most violent degree towards midnight, and the noise from the bursting of the ice redoubling, we imagined that a considerable delay was unavoidable; and began to inquire whether the inhabitants were furnished with sufficient provisions to supply our wants and their own. We were happy to find that four cows, a few hogs, and poultry, and a large store of hard bread, which they bake twice in the year, were more than sufficient to remove all apprehensions of famine during a much longer period than we were likely to remain upon the island. Fortunately, however, we did not put these resources to the test: towards morning the wind subsided, and the rents in the ice not appearing dangerous, we were able to continue our route at sun-rise. It was a most delightful day; in the morning the mercury in the thermometer stood at two degrees above freezing point, and at noon rose to five; the sun shone with such brightness, and the weather was so clear and warm, that
we

we might almost have imagined it to have been summer, if we had not been undeceived by the frozen mafs around us. CHAP.
I.

On the preceding day the whole scenery was uniformly enveloped with fnow, which having been melted, the furface of the Gulf became a pure expanfe of ice: the diftance to the next poft was about 35 miles, and much lefs diversified with iflands than the parts which we had paffed previous to our arrival at Cumlin. In one place we traversed a level fheet of ice, at leaft ten miles in length, unbroken with a fingle rock or ifland; but as the late ftorm had produced feveral apertures, and as the thaw greatly increafed, we went on with caution, and were preceded by an inhabitant of Cumlin for our guide, who carried a hatchet and plumbing iron: with the former he occasionally cut the ice, and with the latter he meafured its thicknefs, in order to afcertain whether it was fufficiently ftrong to fupport our sledges. In fome places he made a confiderable circuit to avoid an aperture; often called out to the drivers to keep at fome diftance from each other; and repeatedly warned them to follow the precise track which he purfued. In this manner he conducted us in about eight hours, and without the leaft accident, to the Ifle of Aland.

Aland, which gives to this clufter of iflands the general appellation of the Ifles of Aland, is about 40 miles in length, and from 12 to 16 in breadth: it contains many villages, and about 50,000 inhabitants; they fpeak the Swedifh language, but are included in the government of Finland, both as to fpiritual and temporal affairs. The bafis of the foil feemed to be granite, of the fame nature with the fhores of Finland, and of the numerous iflands which we had lately traversed; and the whole afsemblage of them looked like a ridge of rocks, which

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had been once joined to each other and to the continent, but undermined and separated by the sea.

We changed horses at Varyat, Scarpats, Harolfby, Enkerlu, and Trebenka. Between Scarpats and Harolfby we descended into a broader and more cultivated plain than we had observed since we had quitted Finland: it contained arable and pasture land, a lake, and a river. In the midst of this plain stand, upon an insular rock of red granite, the ruins of an antient palace, called Castelholm, which, as it is remarkable in the history of Sweden, we stopped to examine. It commands a pleasing, though bounded prospect of two small lakes, whose banks rise into gentle eminences sheeted with wood. The castle is partly built with red granite of a very beautiful colour and grain, and partly with brick. To this solitary rock Eric XIV. son and successor of Gustavus Vasa, was, in 1571, confined by his brother John III. The dungeon in which he was imprisoned still bears the name of the apartment of Eric. In order to gain access to it, we crawled through an arch upon our hands and knees, on account of the heaps of stones and bricks which obstructed the passage: we then came into the shell of a large apartment, from whence we entered a small room, and having ascended a ladder of nine or ten steps, many of which were broken, and which from its antiquity was probably the very ladder that existed in the days of the royal prisoner, we passed through a trap door into the apartments of Eric. It is about 20 feet long and 11 broad; low and vaulted; and has only one small opening to admit the light, which is scarcely more than two inches in breadth. I shall have occasion in another place to mention the sufferings and catastrophe of this very unfortunate sovereign.

Having gratified our curiosity at Castelholm, we continued our route during the night: the snow being all melted by the

the thaw, our journey was tedious and disagreeable; our sledges were slowly dragged over the rocky and sandy roads, so that we did not, before five in the morning, reach the place of embarkation upon the western shore of the island. The wind blowing directly contrary, we took up our lodging at the post-house, and retired reluctantly to rest, but were awakened about ten with the agreeable news that it was shifted, and that we might be able to cross the Gulf. The only decked vessel which this place afforded being ice-bound, we had no other resource but two open boats, manned with a pilot, five or six fishermen, and about ten peasants; but, as the weather was fine, we ordered our baggage on board, and embarked at mid-day. The distance to the opposite coast is 49 miles. The first part of this passage was interspersed with several small rocky islands, one of which appeared inhabited; but from the extremity of the last island, which is about 35 miles from the continent of Sweden, the sea is entirely open: from that point we had a fine breeze, which carried us at the rate of seven knots in the hour; and we were within six miles of the coast about sun-set, with the prospect of a speedy disembarkation; but soon afterwards the breeze slackened, and was followed by a calm, which lasted about half an hour; when the wind rose in the opposite quarter, and blew directly from shore. In this situation the night overtook us; the gale freshened, the sea ran high, the coast was rocky and full of breakers, our vessel a crazy open fishing boat, and the greatest part of our crew wholly unexperienced. We in vain endeavoured by tacking and rowing to reach the shore; and we began to be seriously alarmed lest we should not be able to weather the storm; in this state of anxiety we continued

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until midnight, the gale hourly increasing; when at length by a fortunate tack and incessant rowing, we got under the lee of a high coast: we instantly hauled down the sails, and rowed for a considerable time, though still without being able, on account of the breakers, to find a proper place for landing. After several fruitless attempts, we at last drove the boat upon shore, and disembarking, after much pains, upon a shelving hill of ice, we crawled upon our hands and knees, and gained the land, though with much difficulty. We here escaped a danger, which at the time we did not apprehend, as we were afterwards informed that these shelves of ice are frequently full of large holes, into which had we fallen we must inevitably have perished. Having providentially escaped these and other perils, we procured a guide from an adjacent cottage, and proceeded to Grislehaven, about the distance of three miles: we walked through woody and rugged ways, half melted ice, sometimes above our ancles in water, repeatedly falling down, but exceedingly happy that we were upon land: for we heard the wind blowing very boisterously, and the breakers roaring with increasing violence. About three in the morning we arrived at the inn; and at five the other bark, containing our servants and baggage, landed with still greater difficulty than we had experienced, and after having narrowly escaped being wrecked upon the rocks: the sailors were so terrified that they cried; and our courier was incessantly employed in crossing himself, and exclaiming, "*Domine, non sum dignus mori.*" "Lord, I am not worthy to die."

Feb. 18. As the snow had totally disappeared, the dragging of our sledges over the bare ground was a work of such difficulty and labour, that, notwithstanding we began our journey

journey about ten in the morning and travelled till dusk, we were scarcely able to reach the village of Staby, which was distant only 20 miles from Grislehaven, although half the route lay over large lakes and flooded marshes, where we still found the ice sufficiently strong.

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I.

The experience of this day's journey convinced us to what a wretched situation we should have been reduced, if we had pursued our course towards Lapland; and reminded us how much we were indebted to the salutary remonstrances of the governor of Louisa.

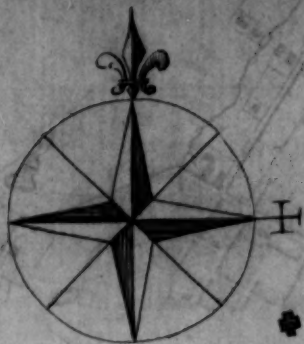
We passed the night at Staby; and, as we found it impracticable to proceed any longer in sledges, continued our journey the next morning in open carts, the only carriages we were able to procure. In this manner we journeyed to Stockholm, where, on account of various delays, we did not arrive until the following evening.

The distance from Grislehaven, the place of our disembarkation, to Stockholm is above eighty miles; yet the country was so thinly peopled, that we did not pass through one town. The villages were few and small, but very picturesque, being mostly situated upon the points of the craggy rocks, and frequently overhanging a lake. Many straggling cottages and houses were pleasantly scattered over the face of the country, which was in general hilly, rocky, and covered with forests, corn, and pasture. After the dreary scenes which we had long been accustomed to, the herbage, just recovered from the snow under which it had been buried during the whole winter, was a grateful object; and it was remarkable, that both the grass and blades of young corn had contracted a yellowish hue, and appeared as if they had been parched by a burning sun.

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As we approached the capital, the country was extremely wild and rocky, and still more thinly inhabited: I scarcely ever observed a more desolate, yet more picturesque, region than the environs of Stockholm. We entered that city on the evening of the 20th of February; and immediately drove to an inn in the center of the town, where we met with excellent apartments, and every accommodation we could desire, to alleviate the fatigues of our late journey.

A PLAN of the CITY of STOCKHOLM.



- References.
- A. The City
 - B. North Suburbs
 - C. South Suburbs
 - a. New Palace
 - b. Old Palace
 - c. House of Nobles
 - d. The Bank
 - e. St. Nicholas Church
 - f. Ritterholm Ch.
 - g. Corn Quay
 - h. Kings Stables
 - i. St. Clara's Ch.
 - k. St. Olofs Ch.
 - l. St. John's Ch.
 - m. Observatory
 - n. Orphan House
 - o. Ulrica Eleanor Ch.
 - p. Edwicks Eleanor Ch.
 - q. Skepaholm Ch.
 - r. The Arsenal
 - s. St. Mary's Ch.
 - t. St. Catharines Ch.
 - u. Sudermalm Market
 - w. Iron Weigh House



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The Kitchen Sculptor

C H A P. II.

Description of Stockholm.—Presentation to the king.—Court.—New Swedish dress.—Publick suppers.—Royal family.—Tombs and characters of Magnus Ladislas, Charles Canutſon, Guſtavus Adolphus, Charles XI. and XII.—Royal Academy of Sciences.—Its tranſactions.—Schools.—Converſation with a Laplander on the general ſtate of Lapland.—Similarity between the Hungarian and Lapland languages.

THE foundation of Stockholm * is, by the beſt Swediſh writers, generally attributed to Birger Jarl, regent of the kingdom about the middle of the 13th century during the minority of his ſon Waldemar, who had been raiſed to the throne by the ſtates of the kingdom; but it was not before the laſt century that the royal reſidence was transferred from Upſala to this city. CHAP. II.

During the courſe of my travels, I have ſeen no town with whoſe ſituation I was ſo much ſtruck as with that of Stockholm for its ſingular and romantick ſcenery. This capital, which is very long and irregular, occupies, beſide two peninſulas, ſeven ſmall rocky iſlands, ſcattered in the Mæler, in the ſtreams which iſſue from that lake, and in a bay of the Gulf of Bothnia. A variety of contraſted and enchanting views are formed by numberleſs rocks of granite riſing boldly from the ſurface of the water, partly bare and craggy,

* The reader who is fond of ſuch inquiries, may conſult Danlius Geſchichte von Sweden, Vol. II. p. 178, upon the derivation of the appellation of Stockholm, where he will find how many abſurd etymologies may be given to the word Stock.

partly

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partly dotted with houses, or feathered with wood. The harbour is an inlet of the Baltick: the water is clear as chrystal, and of such depth that ships of the largest burthen can approach the quay, which is of considerable breadth, and lined with spacious buildings and warehouses. At the extremity of the harbour several streets rise one above another in the form of an amphitheatre; and the palace, a magnificent building, crowns the summit. Towards the sea, about two or three miles from the town, the harbour is contracted into a narrow strait, and, winding among high rocks, disappears from the sight; and the prospect is terminated by distant hills, overspread with forest. It is far beyond the power of words, or of the pencil, to delineate these singular views. The central island, from which the city derives its name, and the Ritterholm, are the handsomest parts of the town.

Excepting in the suburbs, where the houses are of wood painted red, the generality of the buildings are of stone, or brick stuccoed white. The royal palace, which stands in the center of Stockholm, and upon the highest spot of ground, was begun by Charles XI.: it is a large quadrangular stone edifice, and the style of architecture is both elegant and magnificent.

Feb. 23. At seven in the evening we accompanied the English minister, Sir Thomas Wroughton, to court, to have the honour of being presented to Gustavus III. All the company in the drawing-room, the foreign ministers and ourselves excepted, wore the national habit lately introduced into this country by his present majesty. The dress of the men resembles the old Spanish, and consists of a short coat, or rather jacket, a waistcoat, a cloak, a hat with a feather *à la Henry IV.* a sash round the waist, a sword, large and full breeches, and



C. Ruette fecit.

A SWEDISH GENTLEMAN in the COURT DRESS.

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Ch. Ruotte sculp. Londini.

A SWEDISH LADY in the COURT DRESS.

Published according to Act of Parliament. Jan^y 1st 1784. by T. Cadell in the Strand.

and roses in the shoes: the cloak is of black cloth edged with red sattin; the coat or jacket, and breeches, are also black, ornamented with red stripes and buttons; the waistcoat, the fash, the pinks at the knees, and roses for the shoes, are of red sattin. The dress of the ladies is a black silk robe with slit sleeves puffed with white gauze, coloured fash and ribbands. This is the usual court apparel. On solemn festivals the men wear white cloth or sattin, lined and striped with red sattin; the women white silk or sattin, with coloured ribbands and fash. The men, who have not been presented at court, are dressed almost entirely in black, without any red lining and ornaments; and the women of the same description must not appear with the white gauze sleeves. In other respects, their attire is similar to that just described.

About half past seven the king and queen entered the drawing-room, both in the national habit. His majesty passed gradually from one end of the apartment to the other, addressed himself to different persons with great vivacity; and saluted, according to the etiquette of the court, every senator's lady. Being presented to the king and queen, his majesty did us the honour to converse with each of us for a considerable time with great condescension and affability. At the conclusion of this ceremony they withdrew into an adjacent apartment, and were followed by great part of the company. The king played at *trente et quarante* with about twenty persons; and the queen sat down to *ombre*. About nine their majesties quitted play, and, repairing to another apartment, supped in publick: the princess Sophia Albertina was the only person who sat down to table with them, that honour being on these occasions confined to the royal family. Oppo-

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site to their majesties, at a small distance from the lower end of the table, were ranges of taboarets or stools for senators' and embassadors' wives, no other ladies being permitted to sit, so that none below those ranks ever make their appearance at these entertainments.

The strictest adherence to form is observed in this court: while many sovereigns of Europe are endeavouring to retrench the ceremonies attendant on royalty, Gustavus III. has introduced a degree of pomp and etiquette similar to that used at Versailles, and hitherto unknown in this country. The king appears to possess too enlarged an understanding to be, in this instance, a servile imitator of the French; it is therefore more probable, that his motive for this conduct is in some measure political, as the increase of royal prerogative may have rendered it expedient to throw an additional splendour round the majesty of the throne. During supper the king talked almost incessantly with the Swedish nobility, and the foreign ministers and gentlemen who stood near his person.

On the following Tuesday, at the same ceremony of a drawing-room and a publick supper, his majesty did me the honour to converse with me for above half an hour upon various points of the Swedish history. He delighted me with many lively remarks and judicious reflections upon the different characters of the kings of Sweden; and particularly expatiated with rapture upon the eminent qualities of Gustavus Vasa and Gustavus Adolphus, who seemed the favourite objects of his admiration. Among other topicks he mentioned the proposal made by Eric XIV. to espouse our Elizabeth, and the splendid embassy of that monarch's brother John to London, for the purpose of demanding her in marriage; adding,



Ch. Ruette Sculp. Londini

Published according to Act of Parliament. January 1st 1784. by T. Cadell in the Strand.



adding, that this transaction had escaped the notice of many ^{CHAP. II.} of the English historians, and that even Hume, who in general pays greater attention to foreign affairs, had touched on it only in a very cursory manner: he concluded by observing, that Celsius, in his excellent Life of Eric XIV.* had given a very curious and circumstantial account of John's embassy, and of the whole correspondence between Eric and Elizabeth.

As our stay at Stockholm was very short, I had no further opportunity of enjoying those agreeable and instructive conversations with which I might have been indulged by his majesty's uncommon condescension. Gustavus III. was born on the 24th of January, 1746; in 1771 ascended the throne upon the demise of his father Adolphus Frederick; and in the course of the following year effected the revolution which considerably extended the regal authority. By his queen, Sophia Magdalena, daughter of Frederick V. late king of Denmark, he has issue Gustavus Adolphus, prince royal of Sweden, and Charles Gustavus, since deceased. The other members of the royal family are his majesty's brothers, prince Charles duke of Sudermanland, who espoused Hedwige princess of Lubeck, and prince Frederick Adolphus duke of East-Gothland; and a sister the princess Sophia Albertina.

The queen dowager, to whom we had the honour of being presented at her palace of Frederickshof, and who is since dead, was Louisa Ulrica sister to the king of Prussia, a princess who resembled her brother, as well in the features of her countenance as in those eminent abilities which charac-

* The original of this excellent work is particularly the part to which the king alluded. See Histoire d'Eric XIV. par Olof Celsius.
written in Swedish; there is a French translation which I read with great pleasure,

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terize the family of Brandenburg. An unfortunate misunderstanding had for some time taken place between her and his Swedish majesty: it was chiefly occasioned by the ambitious views of the queen dowager, who, accustomed to rule the cabinet with absolute authority in the reign of her husband, expected to retain the same influence during that of her son; but as the monarch, who had emancipated himself from the shackles of an aristocracy, had too much spirit to be governed by a woman, the disappointment of her views drew from her frequent expostulations and bitter remonstrances, which, joined to circumstances of too delicate a nature to be publicly mentioned, terminated at length in an open rupture. Her majesty died at Stockholm in the month of July, 1782.

Agreeably to my usual attention to tombs and monuments, I did not omit paying a visit to the sepulchres of the kings of Sweden, whose remains are interred in the church of Ritterholm. The first of these monarchs is Magnus Ladellas, son of Birger Jarl, who, having forced his brother to abdicate, ascended the throne of Sweden in 1274, and died in 1290, with the character of a wise and prudent monarch; although he entailed upon his kingdom a long series of civil feuds and commotions, by dividing it into different fiefs, and bestowing them upon his three sons. His ashes are covered by a tomb of stone, which stands before the altar; and near it is the sepulchre of Charles Canutson, who was elected king when the Swedes first broke the union of Calmar. In his contest for the crown he found such powerful rivals in the kings of Denmark, that, from the time of his first ascending the throne to his death, Sweden was rent into two violent parties, which, as they alternately prevailed, Charles was one moment a king, and the next an exile; and his depositions and

and restorations were so frequent, that it remains to be questioned, whether, during the æra of his reign, he was not oftener a titular, than a real sovereign. He was, however, in full possession of the regal authority when he died at Stockholm in 1470 *.

The next sovereign, though after a long interval, whose remains are deposited in this church, is Gustavus Adolphus, whose eminent civil and military virtues raised Sweden to the highest degree of renown; and who was one of those few princes that never engaged in war but upon the justest grounds. The greatest commander of an age, which abounded in great generals, he stood up an advocate for liberty and toleration against tyranny, persecution, and bigotry; and laid the first foundation of that equal balance of power which was afterwards settled by the peace of Westphalia. In 1632 he finished his glorious career at the battle of Lutzen, in the 38th year of his age: being amongst the foremost of the combatants, he received a ball in his left arm, but still kept the field till another pierced him through the body. Many of the Swedes assert, and still believe, that this great monarch was treacherously killed by the duke of Saxe Lauenburgh, who fought by his side. Upon examining, however, the proofs advanced in favour of this assertion, they amount merely to vague conjectures and uncertain traditions; and no substantial evidence has been ever produced which might tend to criminate the duke: it is more probable, indeed, that a general, who was remarkable for his courage, and who rashly exposed his person on all occasions, should receive his death from the enemy than from one of his own associates; unless the contrary should be established upon the most undoubted facts.

* The succeeding sovereigns of the House of Vasa, excepting Charles IX. are interred at Upsala. See Chapter VI.

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A few years ago prince Henry of Prussia, being at Stockholm, descended into the vault, and opened the coffin which contains the remains of Gustavus. A Swedish nobleman, who accompanied the prince into the vault, assured me, that the body was in a state of complete preservation; that the countenance still retained the most perfect resemblance to his pictures and coins; and particularly that the whiskers and short pointed beard, which he wore according to the fashion of the times in which he lived, were distinctly visible. A common observer is struck with a reverential awe on beholding only the representation of a deceased hero remarkable for his great virtues; what then must have been the sensations of prince Henry in contemplating the real remains of the great Gustavus, whom he admires and emulates!

In Gustavus Adolphus ended the male line of the House of Vasa: since his time all the monarchs of the female branch are interred in this church, excepting his daughter Christina *, who exhibits a striking example, that though it becomes all sovereigns to protect the arts and sciences, yet that they deserve censure if their literary pursuits interfere with the more necessary occupations of government. In Christina we see a princess discrediting her great endowments by a vain parade and affectation of singularity; apostatizing to a religion which she affected to ridicule and despise; while upon the throne desirous of a private station, and after she had attained it by a voluntary sacrifice of her authority, incessantly repining, and anxious to recover, upon the most humiliating conditions, that crown which she had so capriciously resigned.

Charles Gustavus, in whose favour she abdicated, and who is buried in a small chapel of the church, was son of Casimir,

* She was buried at Rome.

prince

prince palatine of the Rhine, and of Catharine sister of Gustavus Adolphus. His conduct towards Christina was a masterpiece of policy : he proposed to espouse her, yet hoped that she would not accept his proposals ; openly remonstrated against her abdication, yet secretly contrived to fortify her resolutions ; and appeared least eager for the crown in the moment when he was most ambitious to wear it. Bred in the military school of Germany, he inherited the warlike, rather than the civil, virtues of his uncle Gustavus Adolphus ; and was one of those great, but restless spirits, who esteem war as the sole occupation worthy of a monarch ; and who, while they are adding to their own laurels, disregard the miseries and distresses of their subjects. Under his administration Sweden acquired an high degree of renown ; and nothing less than the appearance of the English and Dutch fleets in the Baltick could have stopped the progress of his arms ; have interposed to save Denmark ; or again reduced the balance of the Northern powers to its proper equilibrium. Arrested in the midst of his career by a premature death, he expired at Gotheborg, on the 23d of February, 1660, after a short reign of only six years.

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“ Il n'avoit,” writes the historian of Denmark, “ que
 “ trente-six ans, et ses dernières années avoient été aussi oc-
 “ cupées, ou plutôt aussi agitées, que les précédentes avoient
 “ été tranquilles et oisives. Quand on considère tout ce que
 “ ce prince avoit fait pendant ce court période de sa vie ; sa
 “ passion, ses talents pour la guerre, son activité, son ambi-
 “ tion sans bornes, le respect et la terreur qu'il avoit inspirés
 “ au dedans et au dehors de ses états, on ne peut s'empêcher
 “ de regarder sa mort prématurée, comme un de ces événe-
 “ mens auxquels étoit attaché le sort d'une grande partie de
 “ l'Europe : Et pour ne parler que de la Suède, à quel degré

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“ de gloire et de misère ne l'eut-il pas sans doute portée, s'il
 “ eut fourni la carrière que la nature accorde à la plupart
 “ des hommes, mais que le ciel dans sa pitié refuse d'ordi-
 “ naire aux conquérans. Quelques revers, et la vue d'une
 “ fin prochaine, avoient donc éclairé Charles Gustave
 “ sur la vanité de tous ses ambitieux desseins: en recom-
 “ mandant à ses successeurs de faire promptement la paix, il
 “ donnoit une grande leçon à ses pareils; et c'est là sans doute
 “ le trait de son histoire le plus précieux aux yeux de la rai-
 “ son et de l'humanité *.”

His son and successor Charles XI. whose sepulchre is contiguous to that of his father, has been repro- bated by many foreign historians as an odious tyrant; but his character, if inspected without prejudice, so far from de- serving that imputation, will in many instances merit our re- spect and esteem. An unfavourable idea of his despotick principles has been formed from his resumption of many crown lands, which reduced several families to poverty; and from his mode of liquidating the publick debts, by raising the nominal worth of the coin without increasing its real value. Although it cannot be denied that some of these measures were oppressive and violent; yet when we consider

* Mallet Histoire de Dannemarc, vol. III. p. 432. “ At his death he was only six
 “ and thirty years of age, and the last years
 “ of his life were as agitated as the preceding
 “ part had been tranquil. When we con-
 “ template all the actions which this prince
 “ performed during the short period of his
 “ existence; his talents for war, his activity,
 “ his boundless ambition, the respect and
 “ terror which he impressed equally upon
 “ his subjects and his enemies, we must
 “ consider his death as an event that could
 “ not but affect the interest of the greatest
 “ part of Europe; and with respect to Swe-
 “ den, to what a degree of glory and wretch-

“ edness would he not have carried her, if
 “ he had attained that period of life which
 “ nature generally grants to the greatest
 “ part of mankind, but which heaven, in
 “ its compassion, most commonly refuses to
 “ conquerors. A reverse of fortune, and
 “ the approach of death, had fully exposed
 “ to him the vanity of his ambitious de-
 “ signs. In recommending an immediate
 “ peace to his successor, he afforded a most
 “ striking lesson to other sovereigns; and
 “ this perhaps is the most exemplary parti-
 “ cular of his history in the consideration
 “ of reason and humanity.”

the

the exhausted state of the finances derived from the boundless profusion of Christina*; the ruinous wars of Charles Gustavus, and the disorders of a long minority; we cannot but assent to the opinion of the most unprejudiced Swedes, that, though the reform introduced by Charles was in some instances prejudicial to individuals, yet upon the whole it was salutary to the country; and that nothing less than the most violent measures could have extricated his subjects from the deplorable and exhausted state to which they were reduced.

In one point of view Charles merited and gained the love and esteem of his people: notwithstanding his natural ardour for military glory, he invariably persisted in pacifick measures †; and while he preserved his own country from the horrors of war, he mediated the peace of Europe. To Charles XI. may be ascribed, what Boileau falsely attributed to Louis XIV. that he was his own minister ‡; and what could not have been said of the French monarch, without flattery, was worthy of being so. Charles was chaste, temperate, œconomical, vigilant, and active; a patron of letters; severe, yet not implacable; prone to anger, but easily softened.

* The principal nobles, during the minority of Charles XI. took advantage of a weak government to appropriate the few crown-lands which Christina had not alienated.

† “His peaceable conduct may perhaps more justly be ascribed to the state of his affairs, than his own nature, which more powerfully inclines him to the fatigue of a camp, than the ease of a court; and suits better with a martial familiarity, than the shews of grandeur, and the solemnities of state.” Bishop Robinson’s Account of Sweden.

“His majesty’s,” says Robinson, “most diligent inspection into all the affairs of

“his kingdom, besides that it makes all his ministers more circumspect, hath gained him a great stock of experience. The smallest matters are not below his notice; and nothing of any moment is concluded before he hath been consulted: this is the employment of all his time, scarce any hour of the day passing from five in the morning, when he constantly rises, in which business of one nature or other is not before him.”

‡ Et qui seul, sans ministre, à l’exemple des dieux,

Soutiens tout par Toi-meme, & vois tout par les yeux.

Boileau, Discours au Roi,

If we consider the interior administration of affairs, Charles XI. was one of the wisest monarchs who ever sat upon the throne of this kingdom. To him Sweden stands indebted for many excellent regulations which still subsist. In a word, he was what Philip of Macedon was to Alexander, the precursor of his son's greatness, and the founder of his victories: for without the army which he had disciplined and improved, and the treasure which he had collected, Charles XII. could never have withstood the combined forces of all the Northern powers; nor could he have pushed his conquests with that celerity which astonished and confounded all Europe. Charles XI. was born on the 25th of November, 1655, and died on the 24th of April, 1697, aged 42; lamenting, it is said, upon his death bed, as the only reproach to his memory, the natural violence of his temper*, which he had not sufficiently corrected.

The tomb of Charles XII. is a raised sepulchre of dark marble; it has no other inscription than his name: over it are laid in cast bronze a club and lion's skin, which mark more forcibly than any words

— "his unconquerable will

"And courage never to submit or yield †."

It would be needless to dwell upon a character so well known as that of Charles XII. whose ambition was madness, and whose valour was ferocity. I shall, therefore, confine myself to one anecdote attested by the most respectable authority ‡.

Among many conversations with his friend count Poniatowski, the latter recollected one, in which Charles, after various reflections upon his brilliant successes, which he mo-

* Schloetzer's Briefwechsel, vol. I. p. 147.

† Milton.

‡ I had the honour of receiving this

anecdote from the king of Poland, who had it from his father count Poniatowski.

deftly attributed rather to his good fortune than to his good conduct, expreffed an intention of marrying; and planned for himfelf a life of tranquillity in his own kingdom, when he would pay greater attention to the interior adminiftration of affairs, and endeavour to promote the real interefts of his fubjects. This anecdote, which is unknown to all his biographers, will fhew that even his favage fpirit, which feemed to breathe nothing but war, was not always infenfible to more peaceful comforts, and to the pleafing profpect of domeftick happinefs. Whether this project was merely an idea of the moment, or ferioufly intended to be carried into execution, cannot now be afcertained; but he certainly had removed its accomplifhment to a diftant period; for at the time of his fudden death, he was expecting with impatience the conclufion of a treaty with Peter the Great; not to reftore peace to his diftracted country, but, in alliance with Ruffia and Spain, to dethrone the king of Poland, to feat the pretender upon the throne of Great-Britain, and to rekindle in Europe a general war. Charles XII. was killed at the fiege of Fredericshall on the 30th of November, 1718, in the 36th year of his age; and it remains to this day uncertain, whether he was fhoot by a ball from the enemy's batteries, or fell by the hands of an affaffin *.

The remaining fovereigns who lie interred in this church, are Ulrica Eleonora, fifter of Charles XII. who afcended the throne of Sweden only to refign it to her hufband Frederick I. that monarch, and the late king Adolphus Frederick, mere pageants of royalty, who wielded a fceptre without power; and whole hiftory contains little more than the æra of their fucceffion, and the time of their death.

* See the next Chapter.

Beside the sovereigns of Sweden, this church contains the ashes of Banier, a general, who no less deserves mention than the most illustrious monarch, if we estimate his deserts by the service which he rendered to his country.

John Banier, of an illustrious Swedish family, was born in 1601; and, receiving a very excellent education, made so great proficiency in literature, that Gustavus Adolphus used to call him his learned general. Whilst a boy he attracted by his magnanimity the notice of that monarch, who pronounced him formed for great events, and placed him in the army; where he soon signalized himself in so particular a manner, that, under twenty years of age, he was employed by him in many critical enterprizes, which required no less dexterity than bravery. After the death of Gustavus he supported, as commander in chief, the lustre of the Swedish arms by a series of victories, which raised his military character higher than that of any general of the age. He sustained this reputation undiminished until his death, which carried him off at Halberstadt on the 10th of May, 1641, in the 40th year of his age. Banier was not insensible of the glory which he had acquired by his great actions, but usually spoke of them with great modesty. He was accustomed to say, that he never formed any expedition, nor hazarded an action, without the most reasonable hopes of success. He was equally feared and beloved by the soldiers, and always inspired them with the most unbounded confidence. At the head of his troops he acted solely from himself, and without dependence; and would rather have resigned the command, than have been directed in his military operations by the orders of the cabinet. "Why do ye think," he would say to his confidants, "that Gallas and Piccolomini cannot be successful against me, but because they dare not act without
" the

“the consent of the imperial ministry.” He had the abso-
 lute disposal of all commissions, and established in general a
 regular order of promotion: he was humane to the van-
 quished enemy, extremely cautious not wantonly to expose
 his troops to action, and blamed those generals who in sieges
 sacrifice the lives of their men in order to raise their own
 military character. But though he was thus sparing of his
 soldiers’ blood, he was no less liberal of his own; being him-
 self the bravest person in his army, and too frequently seek-
 ing danger with a degree of rashness scarcely pardonable in
 a general, but which he inherited from his master in the art
 of war the great Gustavus.

CHAP.
II.

In our visits to the Swedish nobility, we found the same
 politeness and hospitality as among the Poles and Russians,
 although much less magnificence and expence in their houses,
 retinue, and entertainments, which arises from a circumstance
 that must give pleasure to every friend of humanity. The
 possession of land not being in this country, as in Poland and
 Russia, appropriated to any particular description of men,
 property is more equally diffused; and such vast accumula-
 tions of wealth or extent of domains do not center in the
 hands of a few grandees.

During our continuance at Stockholm, one day excepted,
 in which it snowed, we enjoyed as fine spring weather as I
 ever experienced in England. This favourable state of the
 atmosphere is exceedingly uncommon at so early a season in
 this Northern climate*, where frequently the snow remains
 upon the ground until the month of April; it was to us pe-
 culiarly agreeable, as it enabled us to make a few excursions
 into the adjacent country, which, although in many parts
 desolate and barren, is always rudely romantick; and fre-
 quently exhibits, amidst a magnificent assemblage of rocks,

* Stockholm is situated in 59 degrees 20 minutes of northern latitude.

lakes,

lakes, and forest, agreeable spots of corn and pasture, numerous villages, and farm-houses.

The Academy of Sciences at Stockholm owes its institution to six persons of distinguished learning, amongst whom was the celebrated Linnæus: they originally met on the 2d of June, 1739, formed a private society, in which some dissertations were read, and in the latter end of the same year their first publication made its appearance. As the meetings continued and the members increased, the society attracted the notice of the king, and was, on the 31st of March, 1741, incorporated under the name of the Royal Swedish Academy. Not receiving any pension from the crown, it is only under the protection of the king, being directed, like our Royal Society, by its own members. It has now a large fund, which has chiefly arisen from legacies and other donations; but a professor of experimental philosophy, and two secretaries, are still the only persons who receive any salaries. Each of the members resident at Stockholm becomes president by rotation, and continues in office during three months. There are two species of members, native and foreign; the election of the former is held in April, and of the latter in July: no money is paid at the time of admission. The dissertations read at each meeting are collected and published four times in the year; they are written in the Swedish language, and printed in octavo, and the annual publications make a volume. The forty first volumes, which were finished in 1779, are called the Old Transactions; for in the following year the title was changed into that of New Transactions. The king is sometimes present at the ordinary meetings, and particularly at the annual assembly in April for the election of members. Any person who sends a treatise which is thought worthy of being printed, receives the transactions for that

that quarter *gratis*, and a silver medal, which is not esteemed CHAP.
II. for its value, being worth only three shillings, but for its rarity and the honour conveyed by it. All the papers relating to agriculture are put forth separately under the title of *Oeconomica acta*; of these three volumes have been already published in 1775, 1777, 1779. Annual præmiums, in money and gold medals, principally for the encouragement of agriculture and inland trade, are also distributed by the academy. The fund for these prizes is supplied from private donations.

Sweden contains the three universities of Upsala, Lund, and Abo; and twelve seminaries for the education of youth, called *Gymnasia*, of which six were founded by Christina. In every large town there is also a school maintained at the expence of the crown, in which boys generally continue until they have attained the age of eleven, when they are sent to the *Gymnasia*, and from thence, at about sixteen, to one of the universities. In the *Gymnasia*, and many of the greater schools, the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew languages are taught. The bishops inspect these seminaries and schools in their respective dioceses, in which they are bound to reside.

Before my departure from Stockholm I was introduced to a native of Lapland, who had received his education in the university of Upsala, and was a person of considerable knowledge: his name is Oehrling; he was born in the village of Arieploy, which is situated to the west of the Gulf of Finland. He was at that time employed in compiling a Lapland, Swedish, and Latin Dictionary, which was published at Stockholm in 1780; a work highly useful, and extremely curious, to all persons versed in the study of languages*.

* Lexicon Lapponicum cum Interpretatione Vocabulorum Sueco-Latina et Indice Suecano Lapponico illustratum Præfatione Latino-Suecana Johannis Thre, nec non auctum Grammatica Lapponica a Dom. Erico Lindahl, et Johanne Oehrling.

Mr.

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VII.

Mr. Oehrling spoke the Latin and French tongues with great fluency : I had the satisfaction of conversing with him, and received from him the following information relative to Lapland and its inhabitants.

The Laplanders call themselves Salme-Same, and Samen-Almatjeh. Their country they denominate Same-Landa, or Same-aednam; the Swedes style it Lapland or Lappmarken, and the inhabitants Lappar. The natives of those districts under the dominion of Sweden or Denmark are Lutherans; while many of those who are subject to Russia are still Pagans. Swedish Lapland contains about eight churches, which in some parts lie at so great a distance from each other, that a native is frequently obliged to travel three days in order to attend divine service. Lapland, in general, is a vast region, but very thinly peopled. Near the Gulf the country is composed chiefly of granite rock, or is strewed over with detached masses of that stone. The whole face of the inland is overspread with immense tracks of forest, consisting chiefly of firs, larch, and small beech, interspersed with numerous lakes which abound with fish. It yields pasture, and affords some corn, chiefly rye and buck-wheat; and is capable of producing a greater quantity, if more of the natives could be induced to leave their wandering way of life, and cultivate the ground. The winter is very long and tedious, lasting nearly nine months : the snow frequently begins to fall towards the latter end of August, and remains upon the ground till the middle of May. The people are partly settled, and in part wild and roving : the latter live in tents made with coarse cloth; the former are fixed in small villages near the lakes, and chiefly follow fishing. They build their cottages somewhat in the shape of a cone, by placing a circle of large trees or poles assant in the earth, and close to each other, so
that

that their tops meet, and form a small vent for the issue of the smoke: they cover the ground within with branches of trees. In summer their clothes are made of coarse cloth; in winter of the skins of rein-deer*. In spring their food consists principally of the eggs of water fowl, which are extremely plentiful in those parts; in summer and autumn of the birds themselves, and of various others of the partridge-tribe†; and in winter of the milk and flesh of the rein-deer, and

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* In the Flora Lapponica Linnaeus says, "Perhaps the curious reader will wonder how the people in Lapland, during the terrible cold that reigns there in winter, can preserve their lives; since almost all birds, and even some wild beasts, desert it at that time. The Laplander, not only in the day, but through the whole winter nights, is obliged to wander about in the woods with his herds of rein-deer. For the rein-deer never come under cover, nor eat any kind of fodder, but a particular kind of *liverwort*. On this account the herdsmen are under a necessity of living continually in the woods, in order to take care of their cattle, lest they should be devoured by wild beasts. The Laplander easily does without more light, as the snow reflects the rays that come from the stars, and as the *Aurora Borealis* illuminates the air every night with a great variety of figures. No part of our body is more easily destroyed by cold than the extremities of the limbs, which are most remote from the sun of this microcosm, the heart. The kibes that happen to our hands and feet, so common in the northern parts of Sweden, prove this. In Lapland you will never see such a thing, although, were we to judge by the situation of the country, we should imagine just the contrary, especially as the people wear no stockings, as we do, not only single, but double and triple. The Laplander guards himself against the cold in the following manner. He wears breeches

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"made of rein-deer skins with the hair on, reaching down to his heels, and shoes made of the same materials, the hairy part turned outwards. He puts into his shoes *slender-eared broad-leaved cyperus grass, carex vesicaria, Spec. Pl.* (or the Bladder Carex) that is cut in summer and dried. This he first combs, and rubs in his hands, and then places it in such a manner, that it not only covers his feet quite round, but his legs also; and being thus guarded, he is quite secured against the intense cold. With this grass they stuff their gloves likewise, in order to preserve their hands. As this grass keeps off the cold in winter, so in summer it hinders the feet from sweating, and at the same time preserves them from being annoyed by striking against stones, &c. for their shoes are very thin, being made, not of tanned leather, but the raw hide." Stillingfleet's Tracts, p. 137, 138.

† "About autumn, when the lakes of Lapland begin to freeze, the water-fowl, which are found there in great abundance, migrate towards the South; and upon the first opening of the spring they return in large flocks to their prior habitations, where they find a plentiful subsistence from the grubs of the gnats. These grubs too serve for the food of the *tetraones* or partridge tribe, thousands whereof, and even myriads, are daily taken, and sent to Stockholm. These birds are caught in such large quantities by the Laplanders, as to supply them with their ordinary provision

Y y

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and dried fish : bread, which till very lately was totally unknown to them, now makes a part of their usual diet. In winter they journey in small sledges made in the form of boats drawn by rein-deer. Those animals will travel almost the whole day without food, and only occasionally moisten their mouths with the snow : they do not, however, draw the sledge with such swiftness as is generally imagined, their common pace being at the rate of about four miles in the hour*. In summer they feed upon grasses and alpine plants, in winter upon the *Lichen rangiferinus*†, or rein-deer lichen, and its varieties, which are so abundant as in many parts almost totally to cover the ground

“ provision in autumn, as the eggs of the
“ water-fowl are their support in spring.”

Holberg.

“ These who have not seen it, will scarce
“ believe what numbers of water-fowl are
“ to be met with upon this river, to which
“ the lake give its name ; and my water-
“ men would every now and then put in to
“ shore, to look for the eggs of wild ducks
“ and geese amongst the reeds, which grow
“ here and there upon the river side, or in
“ the little islands which in several places
“ are formed in the middle of the river, and
“ that after the manner of the Laplanders,
“ who get vast quantities of these eggs, and
“ of the wild fowl too, when in season, as
“ the old ones in winter, and the goslings
“ and young ducks in summer, which they
“ have several ways of killing ; but the most
“ common, and what they are the most ex-
“ pert at, is the shooting them with their
“ arrows, as they do their land ; and indeed
“ the Laplanders are such excellent archers,
“ and their prey is so very plenty, that
“ should one of them go out a shooting for
“ two hours, and not bring home a load of
“ game, he would certainly conclude that
“ some enchanter who bore him a grudge
“ had, out of mere spite, spoiled his sport.”
Mottraye's Travels, vol. II. p. 301.

* “ Most of the rein-deer used for draught
“ are castrated when very young, and are

“ larger and fatter than the bucks : In the
“ winter the Laplanders drive their castrated
“ deer in their sledges : they harness them
“ by a rope fastened to a collar, and carried
“ between their legs ; and direct them by
“ means of a bridle fastened to their horns.
“ Each deer can draw the weight of one
“ person, but rarely more. If he is pressed,
“ he will travel ten or twelve Swedish miles
“ (70 or 84 English miles), but by such
“ hard driving is generally destroyed. It,
“ however, frequently happens that he will
“ persevere in his journey 50 miles without
“ intermission, and without taking any re-
“ freshment. He is weak in the back, be-
“ ing fatigued with the weight even of a sad-
“ dle : for which reason the Laplanders,
“ whenever they travel in summer, and
“ sledges cannot be used, lay across the
“ animal's back a pole, upon which they
“ fasten a small burden.” See Holberg's
Account of the Cerus Tarandus in Amœndit.
Academ. Vol. I. p. 169.

† For the æconomical and scientific description of this Lichen, the reader is referred to Lightfoot's Flora Scotica, vol. II. p. 877. Hagen's Tentamen Historiæ Lichenum, P. cxxvi. and particularly to Linnæi Flora Lapponica, p. 332. from whose accurate and comprehensive account subsequent authors have principally derived their information.

for

for the space of several miles *, and which the sagacious animal discovers under the snow by the peculiar acuteness of its smell. My informer added, that the Laplanders, before their conversion to Christianity, which was not till lately introduced amongst them, possessed no books or manuscripts, though they knew many traditional histories and songs of antient heroes and princes, who once reigned over them; but involved in great uncertainty, and mixed with the most fabulous accounts. They have now a translation of the New Testament in their language; and many of the natives are able to read and write. Upon my questioning him about the Lapland tongue, he answered with some diffidence, "that though he imagined we are in general too apt to form an hasty opinion of two languages being derived from the same stock, because a few words in both are similar, when perhaps the idiom and construction are totally opposite; nevertheless, there appeared to him sufficient reasons for concluding that the Finnish and Lapland tongues were dialects only of one and the same original." But what was most remarkable, he was of opinion, that the Lapland idiom had an undoubted affinity with the Hungarian; for Sainovits, a learned Jesuit, and a native of Hungary, who had accompanied the celebrated astronomer, Father Hell, into Lapland, to observe the Transit of Venus, has demonstrated † that the Hungarian and Lapland idioms are the same: and he himself hath likewise put forth a treatise ‡ upon the same

CHAP.
II.

* "Nullum vegetabile in totâ Lapponiâ tantâ in copiâ reperitur ac hæc Lichenis species, et quidem primario in sylvis, ubi campi steriles arenosi vel glareosi, paucis pinis confiti, ibi enim non modo videbis campos per spatium unius horæ, sed sæpe duorum triumve miliarium, nivis instar albos, solo fere hocce Lichene obductas.

"Sic natura septentrionis quasi inclinât in albedinem, frigoris amalam Flora Lappon."

† Johannis Sainovits, &c. Demonstratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse.

‡ Dissertatio Academica de convenientiâ Linguae Hungaricæ cum Lapponicâ.

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subject. I regretted that time would not permit the learned Laplander to enter into a detail of all the reasons which had induced him to adopt this hypothesis; but we may conclude, that strong probability lies on this side of the question, when we find two natives, of Hungary, and of Lapland, both men of letters, and both well versed in their own dialects, affirming it from their own conviction, without any intercourse or collusion. Having both treatises in my possession, which are extremely rare, I shall comprize, in a short compass, the arguments which seem to prove the similarity of the two languages.

It must not be supposed that a Laplander entering Hungary, or an Hungarian travelling into Lapland, would be immediately understood by the natives: for though the inhabitants of these two countries should be unquestionably allowed to be branches from the same * stock; yet, as the separation from that original took place at a time when they had no alphabet, it must necessarily follow, from the gradual change which all languages necessarily undergo in the lapse of time, and by the adoption of words from the neighbouring nations, that each people could never have retained separately *all* the primitive characteristicks of their original tongue; it is sufficient, if, in the general mode of pronunciation, in the similarity of many words, and in the grammatical structure of the phrases, both nations retain a strong degree of resemblance; and thus much appears to be the case in the Hungarian and Lapland idioms.

In the first place, the pronunciation of the Lapland tongue is so extremely peculiar and difficult, that a Swede or Dane,

* No person in the least conversant in the study of languages presumes to doubt that the English, German, Dutch, Swedish, and Danish are all derived from the antient Gothick or Teutonical, and yet these different nations do not understand each other.

unless

unless educated from their infancy in the country, can never attain it; whereas Sainovits was able to catch the genuine accent without the least difficulty, although, before his arrival in the country, he had not the least acquaintance with their language; the articulation in many respects being so perfectly familiar to him, that, to use his own expression, "while he heard them conversing, he thought he was in his own country *."

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II.

The next proof of their affinity rests upon the similarity of particular words plainly proceeding from the same stock. Of these Sainovits has given a vocabulary, comprizing 150 common to both, and whose resemblance cannot be doubted. As these expressions fell under his observation during a short residence in the country, it is probable that, if he had continued there a longer time, he would have discovered many more.

The two idioms are further demonstrated to be the same from a surprizing agreement in the declension of nouns, in the comparison of adjectives, in a peculiar use of numerals, pronouns, affixes, suffixes, and prepositions, in the mode of conjugating verbs, and in the auxiliary verbs; for in all these circumstances the two people differ as much from the nations bordering upon both, as they are analogous to each other; "So that we may venture to conclude," adds Oehrlich, "that the German does not approach nearer to the Swedish, or the Chaldean to the Hebrew, than the Lapland to the Hungarian."

From these premises the same ingenious author concludes, "that the Laplanders are undoubtedly descended from the

* "Interea, quamvis Lapponibus voces enuncianti modus singularis prorsus sit, mihi tamen ita familiaris accedit, ut, dum ipso sermone audire, in Patria, inter Ungaros me versari crederem," p. 14.

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“Huns, although the precise time in which they separated from the other branches of that numerous nation cannot be ascertained.” He ventures, however, to conjecture, that some of those people penetrated into these regions long before the Huns, under Attila and his successors, occupied Pannonia, since called from them Hungary; that they probably inhabited the southern parts of Sweden, and being driven towards the north by the Goths under Oden, retired to the almost impervious mountains and inclement cold of Lapland, where they were no longer pursued by their invaders. Being settled in those parts, their language, by a perpetual intercourse with the Swedes and Norwegians, became gradually intermixed with foreign words, and split into different dialects; still retaining, however, evident traces of the original spoken by the Huns*, of whom they were a branch.

* The Huns, before they penetrated into Hungary, inhabited the inland parts of Siberia, and from those quarters they probably passed through European Russia, Livonia, Esthonia, Finland, and Sweden. In Livonia

and Esthonia a language similar to the Finnish still exists, as well as among several tribes of Siberia, an idiom which has great affinity with the Hungarian, still prevails.

C H A P. III.

Arsenal of Stockholm.—Clothes and hat worn by Charles XII. when he was killed at the siege of Frederickshall.—Inquiry into the circumstances and occasion of his death.

THE arsenal of Stockholm contains an immense number of standards and trophies, taken chiefly from the Imperialists, Poles, Russians, and Danes. Many of these standards were supplied by Gustavus Adolphus, Banier, Torstenfon, and Wrangel, by Charles Gustavus, but principally by Charles XII. whose military achievements proved the ruin of his country; nor could I avoid remarking, that while this collection proudly displayed the trophies of Narva, the Russians possess Narva itself, with all Livonia, and other provinces dismembered from Sweden. CHAP.
III.

Among other curiosities, I observed the skin of the horse stuffed which carried Gustavus Adolphus at the battle of Lutzen, where he received his death; a boat made by Peter the Great at Sardam in Holland, and taken by a Swedish vessel as it was conveying by sea to Peterburgh; and, what particularly attracted my notice, the clothes and hat worn by Charles XII. when he was shot in the trenches before Frederickshall. As many various reports have been spread relative to the death of that monarch, and as proofs that he was assassinated have been attempted to be drawn from the state of those clothes, and particularly of his hat, I examined them with peculiar attention.

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The coat is a plain blue uniform, like that of a common soldier; the stockings are sown to the breeches: his boots are thick and large; his gloves are of white leather, stiff-topped, and reaching almost to the elbow: the right-hand glove is considerably stained with blood, the left only sprinkled with a few drops; part of a buff belt, which he wore round his waist, is also bloody. I mention these circumstances, because it renders probable what has been asserted, that upon receiving the shot he instantly applied his right-hand to the wound in his temple, and then to his sword.

The hat bears the appearance of having been slightly grazed by the ball in that part which immediately covered his temple*. I was informed, by a person who has had frequent opportunities of observing it, that the original mark was at first very indistinct, but has been so handled and rent by those who have continually examined it, as to have been considerably enlarged. As the shot, therefore, did not pierce through, but only grazed the hat, the size of the ball, upon which so much has been made to depend, cannot be ascertained from this circumstance. It follows therefore from this simple description, which I noted down upon the spot, that, from any appearances either in the clothes, or hat, the slightest inference cannot be deduced in regard to

* This circumstance has given rise to an argument in favour of his being assassinated: for, says the advocates on this side of the question, if, upon receiving the shot, he instantly touched the wound, and then grasped his sword, it seems to imply that he must have seen the person who discharged the piece at him, and put himself into an attitude of defence. And it is certain, from the account of Philgren, who saw the body, that he had absolutely drawn the sword half out of the scabbard, and that the hilt was

so tightly grasped by the right hand as not to be removed without difficulty. But surely, if the king really saw the person who discharged the piece, and meant to defend himself, he would first have grasped the sword before he had received the shot; and if he first touched the wound, and then grasped the hilt of the sword, it was a mere instantaneous impulse, and must have been so sudden as to have no reference to an attempt of defending himself.

the so much agitated question, Whether Charles XII. fell <sup>CHAP.
III.</sup> by a ball from the Danish batteries, or by the hand of an affassin.

I shall subjoin to this account an inquiry into the particulars of his death; in the course of which some new lights may, perhaps, be thrown upon this curious subject; and some anecdotes introduced probably unknown to the English reader.

On the 30th of November, 1718, Charles XII. visited his trenches at the siege of Frederickshall in Norway; advanced as far as a bastion, which he mounted; and, leaning his arm upon the parapet, seemed to examine the progress of the works. The Danish batteries were playing upon the trenches, and continued a constant fire with great and small shot, to which the king exposed himself, as usual, without the least caution; in that attitude he received a ball in his temple, fell upon the parapet, and instantly expired. There were with him two French officers, Maigret, the engineer, who conducted the siege, and Siquier, his aid-de-camp. Behind, at some distance, were, amongst others, count Schwerin, who commanded the trenches; count Possé, captain of the guards; and Culbert, an aid-de-camp. According to Voltaire*, the two Frenchmen, seeing the king fall, and hearing him utter at the same time a deep sigh, approached and found him dead. Mottray† relates, that Maigret had ineffectually endeavoured to dissuade his majesty from remaining in so dangerous a place, and that, having consulted with Schwerin and Culbert, he returned to draw him away by stratagem; finding him leaning upon the parapet, he supposed him to be asleep; but per-

* Voltaire, who was probably informed of these circumstances from Siquier himself. See Hist. de Charles XII. p. 341.

† Voyages de Mottraye, Vol. II. p. 396. Nordberg's Hist. de Charles XII. p. 358.

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ceiving that he continued motionless, an alarm was given to the officers, who came with a light, and discerned that he was dead. Nordberg's account corresponds in general with that given by Motraye. It being determined to conceal the fatal accident, Siquier, who was devoted to the prince of Hesse, took off the king's hat, covered the head with his own wig and hat; and wrapping the body in a grey cloak, ordered it to be transported to his quarters as that of an officer, who was just killed. Siquier himself flew without delay to the prince of Hesse, "who was quartered at Torpum, about the distance of three quarters* of a mile. The prince was "at supper," writes a page who was present †, "with some "generals and officers. Siquier, without being announced, "approached and whispered the prince; the latter did the "same to the person who sat next to him; and the whisper "being circulated round the company in the same manner, "the prince retired from table, and gave immediate orders "for post-horses." "I followed," adds the same person, "the officers to the place where the king was killed. The "prince ordered the generals and officers who were present "to place the body in a litter prepared to convey it to the "head quarters. One and twenty soldiers standing around "with wax tapers in their hands; we observed that the "king, in the agonies of death, had drawn his sword half "out of the scabbard, and that the hilt was so tightly grasped "by the right-hand, as not to be disengaged without difficulty. The body was no sooner removed than the prince "held a council with the officers, when it was determined "to raise the siege, and to dispatch field-marshal Ducker to

* Probably of a Swedish mile, which is equal to about $6\frac{1}{2}$ English miles.

† This account is taken from the narrative of Philgren, a page to the prince of

Hesse, who was that day in waiting. See Von Karls XII. Tode & in Schloetzer's Briefwechsel, vol. I. p. 230.

"Sandborg,

“ Sandfborg, in order to prevent any one from paffing to
 “ the enemy, and fpreading the report of the king’s death: CHAP.
III.
 “ but this precaution was too late, as that very night a
 “ Swedifh lieutenant, accompanied by a drummer, went over
 “ the Glomma to the enemy, and acquainted them with the
 “ king’s death.”

From thefe circumftances we have no reason to fuppose that the king was affaffinated, but rather that he received his wound from one of the Danifh batteries. Let us then examine the reafons which have induced many perfons to affert that he was killed by treachery; and that Frederick prince of Hefle, who had espoufed his youngelt fiftter Ulrica Eleonora and was foon afterwards raifed to the throne, was not wholly unfufpected of being concerned in his death.

The duke of Holftain, fon of Hedwige eldeflt fiftter of Charles XII. was the undoubted heir to the crown, and would, according to the opinion of his minifter Baffevitz, have fucceeded, if he had immediately fhown himfelf to the troops.

“ The duke was in the camp. Charles had brought him
 “ to the army in that fevere campaign in order to form him
 “ to war. Upon the firft news of the king’s death, the
 “ young prince retired to his tent overwhelmed with af-
 “ fliction. The generals who were attached to him, in vain
 “ demanded admittance. Duker conjured his favourite Roep-
 “ ftorf, that he would perfuade him to appear before the
 “ troops, and offered to proclaim him upon the fpot. Roep-
 “ ftorf gained admittance to his mafter, but foon returned
 “ with an anfwer, that he was too much affected to hold
 “ converfation with any one. ‘ If he will not act,’ fays
 “ Duker, ‘ affairs muft go as they can.’”

“ This delay was the fafety of the Swedifh liberty. For
 “ how would the nation have dared to propofe the fup-
 “ preffion

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“preffion of absolute authority, in opposition to a king who
 “had been proclaimed by the army, and was already in pos-
 “session of all the prerogatives enjoyed by his predeceffor *.”
 Another † account informs us, “that feveral of the Swedish
 “generals tendered the crown to the duke, upon the condi-
 “tion of renouncing absolute power; but that he refused to
 “be bound by any restrictions.”

The conduct of the prince of Hefse was far more poli-
 tick. Having disposed of the king's body, he issued imme-
 diate orders to arrest baron Gortz ‡, as if already in poffeffion
 of fovereign authority; and difpatched Siquier to his con-
 fort Ulrica Eleonora at Stockholm. That princefs was no
 fooner informed of her brother's death, than fhe summoned
 the fenate, with whom fhe had for fome time entertained a
 fecret correffpondence; and agreeing to renounce all right

* Memoires de Bassevitz in Busching,
 H. M. IX. p. 321.

† Schloetzer's Briefewechfel, vol. I. p.
 151.

‡ The arrest of Baron Gortz was attend-
 ed with many curious circumftances, which
 are related by Philgren, who accompanied
 the officers that arrested him; but the ac-
 count is too long to be inserted in this work.
 See Gortzen's Gefangennehmung in Schlo-
 etzer, vol. I. p. 231 to 243.

The real caufe of the Baron's imprifon-
 ment and execution was his attachment to
 the duke of Holstein, which neither Frede-
 rick nor Ulrica Eleonora could forgive; to
 their revenge, and to the cabals of a party,
 he fell a facrifice. Pofterity, however, has
 done juftice to the integrity of this great,
 but turbulent ftatelman; and particularly
 the prefent king of Sweden has paid a tri-
 bute of praife to his memory, in the follow-
 ing letter to his daughter Madame D'Eyben.
 See Schloetzer Theil. XI. p. 109. “Ma-
 “dame la Baronne D'Eyben. La memoire
 “de l'illuftre et malheureux Baron de Gortz
 “eft trop refpectée de moi, pour que je

“n'aye été très fenfiblement touché d'ap-
 “prendre, qu'il exiftoit encore un de fes
 “enfants, que la tyrannie et l'injuftice atroce
 “de la princefs Ulrique Eleonore, et de ceux
 “qui prefidèrent à la diète de 1719, rendi-
 “rent orphelins. Son fang innocent a trop
 “long-temps crié vengeance. La Suede a
 “pendant 50 ans de malheurs, de devafta-
 “tions et de troubles païé chèrement le
 “tribut, que la colére divine a exigé pour
 “le crime, commis contre un grand homme
 “innocent, pour que je fouhaite ardem-
 “ment, en qualité de *premier citoyen de ma*
 “*patrie*, reparer au nom de cette même
 “patrie, l'injuftice que nos ancêtres ont
 “commis. A ce titre, que je regarde
 “comme le plus beau de tous ceux, que la
 “Providence a bien voulu afsembler fur ma
 “tête, s'ajoute encore celui de ma maifon,
 “pour la quelle il a été un facrifice. Vous
 “devés donc bien juger, Madame, combien
 “je fuis porté de vous faire rendre la juftice,
 “que vous réclamés en qualité d'héritière
 “et de fille de feu Baron de Gortz, &c. &c.
 “ce 28 d. Ottobre, 1773.”

to the crown by hereditary succession, and to subscribe to the limitation of regal power, she was soon afterwards elected queen; but resigned, in 1721, the crown to her husband. CHAP.
III.

The account of the king's death, published by order of the court soon after the event, enters into no details, but attributes it to a ball shot from a falconet*. Motraye affirms†, that this relation was probably true, because the wound was large enough to admit four fingers; and Voltaire, who received his information from Siquier, asserts, that it was made by a ball of half a pound weight, and large enough to contain three fingers; and they both agree, that from the violence of the shot the left eye was forced in, and the right dislodged from its socket. In contradiction, however, to these authorities, two persons who had seen the body, positively affirm, that the wound was too small to have been occasioned by a shot from a falconet or half falconet.

Count Liewen, in a conversation with Mr. Wraxall, thus expressed himself upon the subject:

"There are now very few men alive who can speak with so much certainty as myself. I was in the camp before Frederickshall, and had the honour to serve the king in quality of page on that night when he was killed. I have no doubt that he was assassinated. The night was extremely dark, and it was almost an impossibility that a ball from the fort could enter his head at the distance, and on the spot where he stood. I saw the king's body, and am certain the wound in his temple was made by a pistol bullet. Who gave it, is unknown: Siker was suspected, because he was not with his majesty previous to the blow, but appeared a moment after. Those," added he, "who are used to military affairs, know the report and noise which a cannon-ball makes; but the report of the shot which destroyed the king was that of a piece close at hand, and totally dif-

* A ball of a falconet usually weighs one pound and $\frac{1}{8}$ at least.

† Large de quatre doigts. Motraye.—Un trou dans lequel on pouvoit enfoncer

trois doigts. Voltaire.—Une balle l'avoit atteint à la temple droite avec tant de violence, qu'elle étoit ressortie au dessus de la temple gauche. Nordberg.

"ferent.

BOOK VII. "ferent. I do not believe the prince of Hesse was concerned, or privy to it
"in any degree; but the belief that he was put to death by a private hand was
"general in the army at that time *."

The next evidence is captain Carlberg, who assisted in conveying the body from the trenches; this officer died at Gotheborg about a month before I arrived at that town; and in repeated conversations with several English merchants, from whom I received the anecdote, constantly asserted that the wound was given by a musket or pistol.

In answer to these assertions, may it not be asked, whether count Liewen and captain Carlbergh had any opportunity of examining the wound with that attention necessary to form a decisive opinion? and if they did, whether the size of gun-shot wounds does not exceedingly vary according to the velocity of the ball, and the place which it strikes?

But should we even allow, that the piece from which the king received his death was not larger than a musket, the next circumstance for inquiry is, whether a musket-shot could have reached him from the ramparts of Frederickshall, or from any of the adjoining batteries? That this is probable will appear from consulting the plan of Frederickshall in Motraye, who had visited the place; for the parapet on which the king was leaning is only 180 yards from the ramparts, and about 800 from the battery, from which he conjectures that he was killed. As a random musket-bullet will often take effect at 800, or even 1000 yards, the king might have been struck in this manner, and still more probably by small or grape-shot discharged from a cannon.

Many persons have been suspected of being concerned in the supposed assassination: Siquier principally, because he was

* Wraxall's Tour, p. 141.

near Charles at the time of his death, covered the body from inspection, immediately carried the news to the prince of Hesse, and, by hastening to Stockholm, secured the crown to the princess Ulrica Eleonora. His conduct in these instances, however, affords no positive evidence either against himself or Frederick; for both would have acted in the same manner from common policy, whether the Swedish monarch was killed by accident, or by their treachery. Unfortunately, however, Siquier himself, in 1722, being at Stockholm, in a delirium, occasioned by a fever, opened the window of his apartment, and exclaimed, that he had murdered Charles XII.; but no one gave any credit to the confession of a person who was then in a state of insanity.

Suspicious fell upon Maigret the engineer, merely because he was present in the trenches; and also upon General Renfhold, who is said to have employed the murderer: but this report had no foundation, and seems to have chiefly arisen from his activity in supporting the party of the senate for limiting the sovereign authority, and in placing Ulrica Eleonora upon the throne.

It is evident from a passage in Bruce's Memoirs* that a belief of the king's assassination was generally received.

"As I was dining," he says, "at an ordinary one day, with several of my acquaintance, there happened to be at the table a Swedish colonel, and a lieutenant-colonel, who was born dumb, but, notwithstanding that misfortune, had been a great favourite with the late king of Sweden. While we were at dinner, the governor's aid-de-camp came in, and, addressing himself to the Swedish colonel, ordered him, in the emperor's name, to leave Riga immediately, otherwise he would be proceeded against as a traitor. The Swede immediately getting up from the table, quitted the room pale and trembling. On our enquiring into the reason of this sudden order to the colonel, we were informed that he was suspected of having shot the late

* P. 366.

"king.

BOOK VII. "king of Sweden in the trenches before Frederickshall. It seems that some
 " of the company had, by signs, made the dumb lieutenant-colonel under-
 " stand the affair, on which he ran after him with his sword drawn, and, but
 " for the interposition of the aid-de-camp and some others with him, he would
 " certainly have killed the colonel, who was safely conducted over the river
 " Dwina, which divides Livonia from Courland, and was followed by his ser-
 " vants and baggage. It was observed, that while he resided in Riga, large
 " remittances had come to him from Stockholm, which made it generally
 " suspected that he had been highly bribed to commit the regicide. The
 " colonel made haste to get into Poland, intending to pass through that king-
 " dom into Turkey, where he was well acquainted, having attended the king
 " of Sweden all the time that prince resided in Bender; but as he was no
 " more heard of, it was generally thought he had been murdered in Poland."

Bruce does not mention the name of this colonel; but his account seems, in some measure, to corroborate the opinion of many persons in Sweden, that if the king was treacherously put to death, it is highly probable that the murder was committed by a Swede. At a diet, which met in September, 1772, soon after the revolution, a nobleman, whose name was Ingham, used these mysterious expressions: "The
 " liberty which has been so much extolled, always carried
 " to excess, and to which we have so long been enslaved,
 " perhaps at its commencement did not occasion any real
 " blessings. It is a conjecture which excites horror, an
 " *opprobrium* from which I wish we could entirely exculpate
 " ourselves, namely, that the life of our Northern hero
 " Charles XII—But I tremble; he was upon the point of
 " recovering the losses of the state. Posterity will dare to
 " expatiate upon this much to be lamented event." It appears from these words, as if the speaker conceived that the partizans for a limited monarchy had occasioned the death of Charles, in order to establish a new form of government; and he alluded to the following anecdote.

A Swedish officer, whose name is Cronstedt, is said to have owned, upon his death-bed, to his confessor Tolstadius, that he was concerned in the murder of Charles XII.; and the confessor afterwards drew up an account of this declaration, which was delivered to the king and senate, and is now preserved in the archives. I could not learn the particulars of this account; but was informed in general, that Cronstedt* affirmed he only loaded the piece, and that Shernrose, who died lieutenant-general and colonel of the guards, was the person who fired it, standing at a small distance behind the king; and it is likewise asserted, that Shernrose, in his last illness, acknowledged his guilt. The queen dowager of Sweden, whose curiosity was excited by all these reports, descended a few years ago into the vault which contains the body of Charles. Upon examining the wounds, one whereof was in the back of his head, and the other in the left temple, she found that the latter was the greater; whence it was concluded, that the ball went in behind and came out before, from the well-known effect of gun-shot wounds, whose entering orifice is always the smallest. I may likewise venture to add, that her majesty, after weighing all the circumstances on both sides, was of opinion that the king was assassinated.

It appeared probable to some persons, from several particulars in the confession of Cronstedt, as if he had been employed by Frederick I. and it is still believed by many at Stockholm, that Frederick, upon the approach of death, raved

* It may not be improper to mention in this place, that Cronstedt is said to have been out of his senses before he died; and if so, his confession deserves no more credit than that of Siquier. Another madman likewise acknowledged himself to be the king's assassin. Fabricius, who is mentioned

as a great favourite of Charles XII. died in England in a delirium; and he assured Miller, the celebrated botanist, with whom he was intimately acquainted, that he assassinated the Swedish monarch. I received this anecdote from a gentleman who had it from Mr. Miller himself.

BOOK
VII.

about Charles XII. and expressed great remorse and compunction on his account.

In mentioning these anecdotes, I beg leave to request that they may be considered merely as reports, upon which other persons, who shall have an opportunity of obtaining more precise information, may build their inquiries; as my intention was to throw together all the intelligence I could collect concerning the death of Charles XII.; in order to enable the reader to draw the conclusion which shall seem the most probable.

Upon reviewing the principal circumstances in this mysterious affair, if we are convinced that the king's wound was that of a musket or pistol ball, and yet that he was not in a situation to be reached by such a shot from the enemy's batteries; and that though the belief of his being unfairly put to death was general in the army, yet no inquiry was made; if we imagine the evidence of Liewen and Carlberg are to be absolutely relied upon, and particularly the assertion of the former, that the report of the piece which destroyed the king was that of a pistol; if we can suppose the confession of Cronstedt and Shernrose to be genuine; the remorse of Frederick to be sincere and well attested; if we think the opinion of the queen dowager sufficient to convince our judgement; we must necessarily conclude that Charles XII. was assassinated. On the contrary, if we believe that the wound was so large that it must have been occasioned by a ball from a falconet, or half falconet; or if not, that the king was liable to be reached by a musket ball; if we see no glaring contradictions between the account published by the court, and the relations made by those who were in the trenches at the time when he fell; or if we think that the latter

latter persons may have been mistaken in some material circumstances ; if we can reconcile the conduct of Frederick as being merely dictated by policy, and such as would have been adopted by any person in the same situation, though he were not accessary to the murder : if to these considerations we add the natural propensity of mankind to attribute the death of extraordinary personages to extraordinary causes ; that those who have once framed an hypothesis will imperceptibly warp all events in its support ; and that until positive proofs, not merely drawn from flying reports and uncertain anecdotes, are established, we ought undoubtedly to lean to the side of candour and humanity, we ought not to credit surmises so injurious to characters otherwise without reproach ; and we are bound to conclude that Charles XII. fell by the hand of the enemy, and not by treachery. And this opinion was likewise supported by the high authority of count Poniatowski*, the confidential friend of Charles XII.

CHAP.
III.

* As I had the honour of being informed by the present king of Poland.

C H A P. IV.

Changes in the form of the Swedish government.—Inquiry into the nature of the constitution established at the Revolution of 1772.—The king a limited, and not an absolute, monarch.—Diet composed of the king and states.—I. House of nobles.—II. Of the clergy.—III. Of citizens.—IV. Of peasants.—Mode of enacting laws.

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THE form of the Swedish government has frequently varied. Before the accession of the house of Vasa in the person of Gustavus I. it was a monarchy wholly elective, and laboured under all the evils which are inseparable from that most defective species of sovereignty. By the Union of Calmar, which took place in 1397, it was stipulated, that the same monarch was to rule over Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and to be chosen by the deputies from the states of those three kingdoms assembled at Calmar. Throughout the whole period in which these regulations subsisted, Sweden was a mere tributary kingdom to the sovereigns of Denmark; or, in its temporary exertions to shake off that yoke, drew on itself all the horrors of foreign invasion and intestine discord.

From this state of alternate oppression and anarchy it was rescued by Gustavus Vasa, on whom the gratitude of the Swedes conferred the dominion of that country which he had delivered: they even renounced in his favour the right of electing their kings, and declared the crown hereditary in his male issue. The form of government established at his accession,

accession, though in appearance of a mixed nature, and though it lodged the supremacy in the assembly of the states, yet entrusted very extensive prerogatives to the king. CHAP.
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These powers, transmitted to his immediate posterity with little diminution, were augmented under Gustavus Adolphus; and at the same time the right of succession was extended to the female line. But, during the minority of his daughter Christina, the government underwent an alteration unfavourable to regal authority: the privileges of the senate, or council of state, being enlarged, gave the ascendancy to the aristocratical party, or order of nobles; and this power was, by continual encroachments, carried to such an exorbitant height as justly to excite the fears and indignation of the three other orders of the clergy, citizens, and peasants. At length, Charles XI. artfully availing himself of this dissatisfaction, obtained from the states a formal cession of absolute sovereignty, which he quietly devolved upon his son Charles XII. Upon the decease of the latter, his nephew, Charles Frederick duke of Holstein son of his eldest sister Hedwige, ought, by the law of succession established by Charles XI. to have ascended the throne. But the Swedes, in breach of that regulation, excluded the duke of Holstein, and conferred the crown upon Ulrica Eleonora, the youngest sister of Charles XII.; who, possessing no title but what was derived from the appointment of the nation, purchased her election by a surrender of absolute authority, and by ratifying all the limitations of prerogative which the states imposed; and her husband Frederick I. in whose favour she resigned the crown, secured their concurrence by similar stipulations.

The new form of government established at this juncture, consisted of 51 articles, all tending to abridge the powers.

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powers of the crown, and rendered the Swedish sovereign the most limited monarch in Europe.

It was settled, that the supreme legislative authority should reside absolutely and solely in the states of the realm assembled in diet, which, whether convened by the king or not, must regularly assemble every three years, and could only be dissolved by their own consent. During the recess of the diet the executive power resided in the king and senate; but as the king was bound in all affairs to abide by the opinion of the majority; and as he possessed only two votes, and the casting voice in case of equal suffrages, he was almost entirely subordinate to that body, and could be considered in no other light than its president *. At the same time the senate itself ultimately depended upon the states, as its members, though nominally appointed for life, yet were in a great measure

* Mr. Sheridan, in his History of the late Revolution, &c. has thus delineated the exorbitant authority vested in the states, p. 145. "While the states were assembled they were, in fact, possessed of the whole supreme power. The authority of the king and senate was then suspended, &c. —In short, the states were vested with the same powers, independent of the king and senate, that in England the two houses of parliament possess in conjunction with the king.

"The legislative power they reserved wholly to themselves. The king and senate, having no share whatever in it, did not even possess a negative on those resolutions of the diet, which directly attacked the regal and senatorial rights.—The following powers were likewise vested in the states alone. Those of declaring war or making peace. That of altering the standard of the coin, &c.

"The executive power, during the sitting

"of the diet, may be said to have been, in a great measure, lodged in a certain number of persons selected from the three orders of the nobles, clergy, and burghers, who constituted what was denominated the secret committee, &c. With regard to the judicial power, the states assumed to themselves a right of exercising that also, whenever they thought proper, by taking at pleasure causes out of the ordinary courts of justice, to try them before a temporary tribunal erected by themselves, and composed of their own members. Nothing could be more formidable than the power of this court, or more subversive of liberty; as, in reality, it united within itself at once the legislative, judicial, and executive powers; and it was to decide principally in cases of treason; what rendered this extraordinary jurisdiction most preposterous was, its being generally at the same time both judge and party."

chosen

chosen by the states*, were amenable before that assembly, and liable to be removed from their office in case of real or pretended malversation. Thus the supreme authority resided in a tumultuous assembly, composed of the four orders, into which many nobles without property, the meanest tradesmen and the lowest peasants, were admitted; most of whom were of course subject to all the corruption and influence to which needy and ignorant representatives are necessarily exposed. Although all statutes were signed by the king, and the ordinances of the senate issued in his name, yet in neither case did he possess a negative: and in order to obviate the possibility of his attempting to exercise that power, it was enacted, in the diet of 1756, that "in all affairs, without exception, which had hitherto required the sign manual, his majesty's name might be affixed by a stamp, whenever he should have declined his signature at the first or second request of the senate." In consequence of this resolution the royal signature was actually engraved, and applied to the ordinary dispatches of government under the direction of the senate†. In a word, the king enjoyed little more than the mere name of royalty. He was only the ostensible instrument in the hands of one of the two great parties who at that time divided and governed the kingdom, as either obtained the superior influence in the diet.

We cannot but remark upon this subject, that the Swedes, who, during the reigns of Charles XI. and XII. had so reluctantly submitted to the despotism of their sovereigns, knew not how to use their liberty: they intemperately ran into the contrary extreme; and, in order to disable the king from recovering arbitrary power, they even despoiled him of

* All vacancies in the state were filled by the king from three candidates nominated by the states.
 † Sheridan, p. 188. Can'ter, p. 71.

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those just and necessary prerogatives, which in a monarchical constitution can alone form a barrier against aristocratical usurpation and popular factions; as if they were ignorant of any medium between absolute dominion and anarchy, or between licentiousness and servitude.

The gross defects in this new form of government occasioned constant struggles between the kings of Sweden and their subjects, on one side to increase, on the other to depress the royal prerogative, until his present majesty effected the revolution of 1772.

It is needless to enter into any detail of this extraordinary event, as Mr. Sheridan, who, at the period in question, was secretary to the British envoy at Stockholm, has given to the world a most ample and accurate detail of the whole transaction *. Persons of the most opposite parties in Sweden all unanimously concur in commending the fidelity of Mr. Sheridan's history, and in preferring it to the numerous narratives of that important event; and the king has frequently acknowledged its general authenticity. The ingenious author has developed with the utmost precision and truth the dreadful abuses occasioned by the system of government established in 1720; and has traced, with a masterly hand, the judicious and spirited conduct of his present majesty.

But in this account of the new government, admirable as it is, he has unfortunately advanced a capital mistake, which, as it has fallen from a person of such respectable authority, and seems generally prevalent in all foreign countries, deserves a particular discussion. What I allude to is his assertion, that the king of Sweden is "no less absolute at Stockholm than the French monarch at Versailles, and the Grand

* A History of the late Revolution in Sweden, &c. by Charles Francis Sheridan, Esq.

" Signor

“Signor at Constantinople* ;” whereas his Swedish majesty, CHAP.
IV. though now possessed of very great prerogatives, is yet in many important instances a limited monarch, as will be ascertained by a review of the present constitution.

The whole executive power is virtually vested in the king: for though it is said to be entrusted to him conjointly with the senate, yet as his majesty appoints and removes all the members of that council, and in the administration of affairs asks only their advice, without being bound to follow it, he is absolute master of the senate†. The king has the command of the army and navy, and fills up all commissions; he likewise nominates to all civil offices‡. He has the sole power of convening and dissolving of the states, and is not obliged to assemble them at any stated period§; he has rendered the taxes perpetual, enjoys a fixed revenue, and has the entire disposal of the publick money.

Such are the prerogatives which his Swedish majesty has annexed to his crown; but however enormous they may appear, especially when compared with the slender degree of authority possessed by the throne before that period, yet they by no means, I apprehend, amount to despotism. The two great features, which essentially distinguish an arbitrary from a limited monarch, are the uncontrouled right of enacting

* P. 301.

† Article 4th. In some few instances, however, namely, in the negotiations of peace, truces, and alliances, the king is bound to follow the opinion of the senators, in case they are unanimous; but as it is scarcely possible that seventeen senators, appointed, and removable, by his majesty, should be unanimous in their opposition to him, we may fairly allow the king to have the command of the senate. Art. 6th.

In the high courts of justice, indeed, con-

sisting of seven senators, to which a final appeal lies from all the inferior courts, the king has only two voices, and a casting vote, if the opinions are equal. But yet, in this instance, as he nominates and removes at his pleasure their judges, he must have the entire disposal of their suffrages. Art. 8th. See the articles of the new form of government in the Appendix to this volume.

‡ Art. 6; also 22, 25, and 31.

§ Article 38.

and repealing laws, and the imposition of taxes without consent of the subject; neither of which are exercised by the king of Sweden.

With respect to the former, the legislative authority resides jointly in him and in the states*; and it is expressly decreed, in the 40th article, that “the king shall have no power to make new laws, without the knowledge and assent of the states; nor abrogate an old one received formerly†.”

Concerning the imposition of taxes, it is expressly stipulated, that the king shall not levy any money without the consent of the states, excepting in the case of actual invasion‡; and at the conclusion of the war he shall be obliged to summon them, and the new taxes shall be abolished. In addition also to these two important restrictions, he cannot declare war, nor alter the coin, without their concurrence; and, if called upon by them when convened, is obliged to account for the expenditure of the publick money§.

Though the king is subject to these material limitations, yet as his ordinary revenue is perpetual, and the meeting of the states depends solely upon his pleasure; it may be urged, that he may govern without controul as long as he requires no additional subsidies. But surely this mode of ruling does

* Mr. Sheridan is wrong, in saying that the states were to deliberate upon nothing but what the king thought proper to lay before them, they having a right, as well to propose laws, as to negative those proposed by the king. See Art. 42.

† Art. 48.

‡ Mr. Sheridan, upon this article, says, “By a third, though his majesty did not openly claim a power of imposing taxes on all occasions, yet such as already submitted were to be perpetual, and in case of invasion or pressing necessity, the king might

“impose some taxes till the states could be assembled. But his majesty was to be the judge of this necessity; and we have seen that the meeting of the states depended wholly on his will and pleasure.” P. 307.

Now there are no such words as *pressing necessity* in the new articles of government, but the exercise of this power is strictly confined to the case of actual invasion: the words are, “yet that unhappy case excepted, when the kingdom should be attacked by an army.”

§ Articles 44. 48. 50.

not amount to absolute authority. For, as he cannot enact CHAP.
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In fact, his present majesty, though neither pressed by foreign war, nor by any material exigency, did, within six years from the time of his obtaining an exemption from the necessity of convening the states, conceive it expedient to summon them; and experienced that opposition which characterizes the representatives of a free people. In the house of nobles, for instance, a memorial was laid upon the table, wherein it was said, that there were no fixed laws; that the form of government established in 1772 had been for some time observed; but that lately many of the king's friends had appealed to that of 1616, as the proper model by which the administration was to regulate its proceedings: which constitution was to be considered as at present subsisting? Other propositions very offensive to the royal ear were discussed in this memorial; and it was intended to have been formally recited at the next meeting; but, to prevent this measure, the king summoned the states to the palace, and dissolved them. His majesty, in his speech delivered on that occasion, declared himself chagrined at the complaints unjustly levelled against his conduct; and added, that the form of government established in 1772 should always be regarded by him as the true constitution; that he never wished to deviate from it in the slightest degree; and that, as many persons had endeavoured to create a misunderstanding between him and the states, he had on that account adopted the resolution of dissolving them: a style of harangue that would not have been adopted by an absolute king.

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In a word, whether the present form of government be likely to last, or whether it may not be as suddenly overturned as it was introduced by a new revolution; whether it may not in process of time degenerate into an arbitrary monarchy, or relapse into its pristine anarchy; are not here the objects of inquiry: the question relates solely to the nature of the constitution as it subsists at present; which, the more accurately we examine, the less scrupulously shall we decide, that the king of Sweden is a limited, and not a despotic sovereign.

The diet, in which resides the supreme legislative authority, is composed of the king, whose prerogatives have been already related, and the states, which are convened at the sole will of the crown, and consist of the four houses, I. Of Nobles; II. Of the Clergy; III. Of Citizens; and, IV. Of Peasants.

I. The first House is that of the Nobles.

They are divided into counts, barons, and untitled nobility. A family once ennobled continues so from generation to generation, as well in the direct line as in its various collateral branches*; and all possess the same general privileges,

* The reader will excuse the length of the following quotation, as well in consideration of the justness of the remarks, and its application to the subject in the text, as because it is almost the only place where the difference between the English and foreign nobility is precisely and clearly ascertained.

“ England is the only country in Europe where the distinction, for instance of noble and not noble, is carried no farther than the nature of the government requires it should; because there the nobility do not, as such, form a distinct class from the rest of the nation. As it is only the head of each noble family, who

“ is there entitled to the honours and privileges of the peerage, it is not the man who can count a long train of titled ancestors, but the hereditary legislator who is himself noble. The younger branches of these families, as they have no share in the legislature, are but little, if, by courtesy, at all distinguished from their fellow-subjects; with whom they and their descendants assimilate, and are soon, if I may so express myself, melted down into the general mass of the people. Hence these become a sort of link between the nobility and the commoners; a link that, connecting their interests, prevents all division

leges, which consist principally in the capacity of being senators, chamberlains, or of holding other civil employments about the king's person and court, and in an exemption from the poll-tax. The power of creating new nobility is vested in the king; but the number is limited. In a diet held under Adolphus Frederick, it was enacted, that no additional ones should be appointed until the families of this order were reduced to 1200; and at the revolution of 1772 his present majesty obtained the right of adding 150.

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The head of each noble family in the direct line is by birth a member of this house, and represents, in his person, all the younger part of that line, as well as the collateral branches. If he happens to be a senator, he is incapacitated by his office from a place in the diet; but enjoys the power of transferring his seat to another noble. Any representative, who declines attending, may appoint a substitute, provided he nominates a person of his own family*.

As there are about 1200 noble families, if each head attended, the members present in the house would amount to that number; but there being no necessity for assisting at the diet, the representatives vary. In the late reign, when

“ division between these two orders in their
“ capacity of members of the same society,
“ and which forms of that society a conti-
“ nued chain, no part of which can be
“ touched without affecting, by an almost
“ electrical communication, all the rest. In
“ other countries, where those who have
“ been once ennobled transmit the honours
“ and privileges of nobility to all their pos-
“ terity alike, there is no link to connect
“ the nobles to the rest of the nation; on
“ the contrary, a line is drawn between them
“ to perpetuity; a line which cuts, as it
“ were, the chain of society in two, the se-
“ vered ends of which appear rather to re-
“ pel than attract each other. There, con-

“ sequently, that conjunction of views and
“ interests cannot take place in the nation
“ at large, to which I have said a free con-
“ stitution must, in a great degree, owe its
“ safety.” Sheridan, p. 143.

* Formerly each head had the power of transferring his seat to any one noble; but as this privilege gave rise to a scandalous traffick of selling seats (see Sheridan, p. 159), the house passed a decree, prohibiting any representative from appointing a noble of another family to be his substitute to the prejudice of his own family in all its collateral branches, any of whom might, in preference to an alien, claim a right of assisting at a diet, if the chief declined attending.

their

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their votes were of greater consequence than they are under the present form of government, they usually amounted to 500 or 600; and on a remarkable occasion, when Adolphus Frederick intimated a design of abdicating the throne, above 1000 took their seats. In the late diet of 1778 only 300 made their appearance*.

II. The second house is that of the Clergy †.

The representatives of this order consist of the fourteen bishops, and a certain number of ecclesiasticks chosen in the following manner. The king's writ being issued to the consistory, or ecclesiastical court of each diocese, the latter dispatch a circular letter to the archdeacon of a district having the right of election; and he communicates the summons to the clergymen of his several parishes. Every person possessing a benefice, and every upper and under master of the royal schools, is an elector, and may be a candidate to represent that district ‡. The electors meet at some place towards

* The governors of the provinces and the colonels of each regiment attend the sittings of the diet, in order to deliver in their reports; but they have no vote, excepting when they take their seats, as is usually the case, as representatives in their own right, or by the transfer of the heads of noble families. These circumstances have induced some authors erroneously to assert that the governors and colonels are, from their offices, entitled to seats and votes in the house of nobles.

† The Lutheran is the established religion of Sweden. The members are bishops, *domprosts* or deans, *prosts* or archdeacons, *pastors* or rectors, and *comministers* or perpetual curates. There are fourteen dioceses; the archbishoprick of Upsala, and the bishopricks of Eindkioping, Skara, Strängnæs, Wæsteros, Wexio, Abo, Lund, Borgo, Gotheborg, Calmar, Carlstadt, Hermosand, and Wisby or Gothland. The revenues of

Upsala and Wæsteros amount to about £1000 per annum; and those of the lowest bishopricks to £300. The bishops are bound to residence, excepting at the meeting of the diet. The chapters of Upsala, Lund, and Abo, which are universities, are composed of the bishops, deans, who are always *primarii professores* of divinity, and the other professors in the several branches of literature; in those dioceses in which there are *gymnasia*, they consist of the bishop, dean, and the *lectores gymnastii*, or professors. In the diocese of Wisby or Gothland, the chapter is formed by the bishop and the neighbouring rectors.—There are also three superintendents, who rank as bishops, but do not sit in the house: the first chaplain to the king; the rector of St. Nicholas at Stockholm; and the first chaplain of the navy.

‡ The *comministers*, or perpetual curates, chuse also one representative from the ministers of each diocese.

the

the center of the archdeaconry; and the person who has the greatest number of votes is chosen representative. The bishops are obliged to defray their own expences at the sittings of the diet, though they usually receive, in the larger dioceses, 15*s.* per day; and in the smaller 10*s.*: but the others must be paid by their constituents about 5*s.* or 6*s.* per day. The number of the representatives is uncertain, because each archdeaconry has the privilege of sending one member, or of joining with another in the choice of one: they have been seldom less than 50, and have never exceeded 80.

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III. The third house is that of the Citizens.

Sweden contains 104 towns which enjoy the privilege of sending members to the diet. Every citizen of these towns engaged in trade and commerce, being a freeman, and paying taxes to the town, is at the age of 21 an elector*; and every citizen, even the lowest menial tradesman, who has been a freeman during seven years, or an alderman during three, and who has attained the age of 24, is qualified to be a representative. Summons from the crown being issued by the governors of the provinces, the latter transmit them to the mayor and aldermen of each town having the right of appointing members. The mayor assembles the electors in the town-hall, and their choice is determined by the majority: none but freemen are permitted to be present. Each representative receives from their constitution a small contribution; which, in the larger towns,

* The right of voting depends, in different places, on different qualifications. In some places it is derived from a certain assessment upon capitals employed in trade; in others from a tax upon land without the boundaries of the town, &c. In all cases, persons who in this manner contribute largely to the publick imposts, enjoy an ad-

ditional number of voices proportionate to the multiples which they pay: supposing, for instance, an annual rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* qualifies for a vote, any person paying 5*s.* has two; 10*s.* four votes; and so on. In Gotheborg there are about 1000 electors, and some rich merchants possess several hundred votes.

amounts

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amounts to about 15s.; and in the smaller to 5s. 4s. or 2s. 6d. per day during their attendance at the diet.

The number of members who represented this order was never precisely the same. Each staple town has indeed the right of sending two; some of the largest, such as Gotheborg, Nordkiöping, Gefle, and a few others, three; and Stockholm always deputed ten*: but sometimes one or two small towns joined to elect only one deputy; and at other times each appointed its own members. The usual number seldom fell short of 100, and never exceeded 200.

IV. The fourth house is that of the Peasants, whose representatives are chosen by, and from, the following order of subjects.

The definition of a peasant is a farmer employed in agriculture, possessing land of a certain tenure, who has never followed any trade, or enjoyed any civil office. This description includes only those whose ancestors were also farmers, and does not entitle either nobles, citizens, or even country gentlemen, though they may purchase the peasant's estate, either to vote, or to be returned a member.

The land qualifying the farmer, who is a peasant, to be an elector, must be either crown land, or his own property.

The most valuable of these estates may be worth £1300, and the poorest about £30. If the land is possessed by two or more peasants, the vote is split among the several proprietors, each enjoying that share of the vote which is proportionate to his share of the farm†; but each of them is qualified to be a representative.

* Of this number four are elected from the mayor and aldermen, two from the wholesale merchants, two from retail traders, and two from persons engaged in handicraft trades.

† Thus a peasant having $\frac{1}{3}$ d of an estate qualifying for a vote, has $\frac{1}{3}$ d of a vote: and these fractions are all added together, which frequently makes an election for a member of the diet a very complicated business.

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The peasants who thus enjoy the privilege of nominating deputies, or of being elected themselves, may be divided into three classes: 1. Peasants whose farms consist of crown lands, which they enjoy for life upon payment of an annual quit-rent, and from which they cannot be removed but for being formally proved guilty of having neglected their culture. Upon the death of the proprietor the lease is almost always granted to the eldest son. 2. and 3. Peasants who have bought, at six years' purchase, either from the crown, or the nobility, the perpetuity of their farms on the payment of a quit-rent.

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The mode of election is as follows. The writ being issued to the governor of the province, he sends it to the county judges, each of whom summons the peasants within his jurisdiction to meet in the court of justice, and in his presence, on the day appointed for the election. The members are chosen by the majority of voices. The constituents join in contributing the sum of three, four, or five shillings per day towards defraying the expences of their deputy at the diet. The electors who usually assemble in each district are seldom less than 30, or more than 100. The number of representatives in the house of peasants is extremely uncertain, as two districts occasionally unite in sending only one deputy, and at other times elect two; but, upon an average, they usually amount to about 100.

It is a very remarkable circumstance, that, in a constitution so free as that of Sweden, in which even the peasants, as landholders, are returned members to the diet, the country gentlemen, be their landed property ever so large, are not represented in the states of the kingdom*.

* The reason of the country gentlemen being excluded from all share in the legislation, was, that the form of government established in 1720, was founded on the ancient

constitution of Sweden; by which the inhabitants were, as in most other countries of Europe, divided into nobles, clergy, citizens, and peasants.

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have neither any vote in the choice of representatives, nor can be representatives themselves: a strange inconsistency that those persons, who are justly esteemed the most respectable and incorrupt part of the body politic; should not enjoy the least share in the legislature, while many mechanicks and farmers, who are both as unqualified to canvass intricate political questions, as they are incapable of resisting the influence of bribery, possess that important privilege. Soon after the establishment of the limited monarchy in 1720 by the aristocratical party which raised Ulrica Eleonora to the throne, many country gentlemen signed an address to the diet, representing the impropriety of excluding so important an order of men from the states of the realm. But as the articles of government were finally settled, their application was not complied with: so well founded and just, however, were the principles of their remonstrance, that the king, at the recommendation of the diet, advanced several of the petitioners into the order of nobles.

The states of the kingdom, thus composed of the representatives chosen in the manner just described, assemble at Stockholm in several places. The nobles in the house of nobles; the clergy in the church adjoining to the palace; the citizens in the town-hall; and the peasants in another apartment of the same building.

Having taken their seats, and chosen their respective speakers, the four houses repair in due form to a hall of the palace, where the king, clad in his royal robes and seated upon the throne, informs them, in a short speech, of the reasons for which they are convened; desiring them to assist him with their advice in the present juncture of affairs, and deliberate for the good of the kingdom. In answer to this harangue, the four speakers compliment his majesty in the name of their

their respective houses; after which ceremony the representatives immediately retire. CHAP.
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Laws are enacted in the following manner. During the sittings of the diet, every member of the four houses has the privilege of proposing a question to the consideration of the assembly to which he belongs. A debate takes place upon the motion, which is carried or rejected by a majority. If it passes in one house, it is sent by a deputation to each of the others; and, if assented to by three, is presented by the four speakers to the king: his majesty afterwards summons the states to the palace, and communicates to them his assent or dissent in form. The latter negatives the bill, and the former gives to it the sanction of a law.

If the bill originates from the king, it is thus brought in: his majesty lays it before the senators, and having obtained their opinions in writing, refers it to the discussion of the states; if they approve it, the four houses repair to the palace, and communicate their assent to his majesty; if it is rejected, they transmit their determination in writing by their speakers, and accompany it with the reasons which had induced them to dissent.

When the king chuses to put an end to the diet, he summons the states to the palace, and dissolves them by a speech.

C H A P. V.

General remarks on the I. Population.—II. Revenues.—III. Military establishment.—IV. And Penal Laws of Sweden.

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THE population is perhaps more accurately ascertained in Sweden than in any other part of Europe ; which is owing to the peculiar care and attention paid by government to obtain a correct register of the marriages, births, and deaths. For this purpose a *Tabell Commission*, or a board for inspecting and registering the bills of mortality resident at Stockholm, was instituted in 1749 ; which maintains a correspondence with all the parishes and towns in the kingdom. Tables are distributed to the clergymen and magistrates for the purpose of enrolling the marriages, births, and deaths in their respective districts, and specifying the number of inhabitants at that time subsisting ; and extraordinary care is taken to prevent mistakes.

The first table is for a general list of the births, deaths, and marriages ; the second for the bills of mortality ; the third for the number of inhabitants. The two former are kept by the parish-priests, and annually delivered ; the latter by the parish-priest in the country, and by the magistrates in the towns, and are sent to the board at the end of every third year *.

A copy of the two former tables is here subjoined, as their useful tendency is evident, and as an institution of a similar nature could not fail of being highly advantageous to every country.

* The ascertaining of the number of inhabitants is greatly facilitated by the poll-tax, and by the care taken by the clergy to keep exact registers. About thirty years ago the diet passed a law, that every person in Swe-

den, both male and female, should learn to read. This regulation is considered as part of the ecclesiastical discipline, and is particularly attended to by the clergy, who examine the children in their respective parishes.

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TABLE sent by the Government of Sweden into the several Provinces for the Purpose of ascer- CHAP.
taining the Population. V.

For the Year 17... List of Births, Deaths, and Marriages.

Months.	Births.						Deaths.									Marriages.					
	Legiti- mate.		Illegiti- mate.		Sum Total.		Till the age of 10 incluſi.			Above 10 years old.			Married Perſons.			Sum Total.		Divor- ces.	Contracted		
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	Sum	M.	F.	Sum	M.	F.	Sum	M.	F.	Coupl	Couples.		
January																					
February																					
March, &c.																					
Sums																					
Total of all the births in 17..							Total of deaths														

REMARKS.

The twins are included in the preceding numbers among the births; here those women are only enumerated who have been brought-to-bed of two or three children at a birth.		Here is marked the age of all women who have been brought-to-bed.		Number.
Twins		Of three children.	— between 15 — 20 years	
			— — 20 — 25	
			— — 25 — 30	
			— — 30 — 35	
			— — 35 — 40	
			— — 40 — 45	
			— — 45 — 50	
			Total	

Persons who died at past ninety are comprized among the deaths; but here their several ages are respectively mentioned.			What species of disorders were most prevalent, and at what season of the year.	
	Males.	Females.	Seasons.	Disorders most prevalent at —.
Between 90 and 95			Spring	
95 and 100			Summer	
Above 100			Autumn	
Sums			Winter	
Total of the whole year.				

CASUALTIES.

	Males.	Females.		Males.	Females.
a. Overlaid by mothers or nurses			b. Frozen to death		
b. Parricides			i. Suffocated by smoke		
c. Assassinated			k. Suicides		
d. Starved to death			l. Killed by lightning		
e. Drowned in the sea			m. Crushed in felling trees, &c.		
f. Drowned in wells			n. Found dead		
g. Perished under the ice			o. Lost in mines		
Sum			p. &c. &c. &c.		
Total					

Here are noted any extraordinary circumstances which happened in the three kingdoms of nature—the harvest—price of grain, &c.

List of malefactors, with their executions and punishments.

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Bills of Mortality for the Year 17—.

Age of the deceased.	Above a year old.		From 1—3		From 3—5		From 5—10		10—15, and so on for every 5 years to 100		Total of Deaths and their Disorders.
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Sexes.											
Fever											
Empyema											
Quinzy											
Stone											
Cirrocèle, &c.											
Erysypelas, Gangrene, &c.											
Suffocation, Apoplexy											
Intermitting Fevers											
Spotted Fever											
Putrid Fever											
Hemorrhage											
Consumption											
Cholick, &c.											
Jaundice, &c.											
Gout											
Convulsions											
Epilepsy											
Scurvy											
Fistulas, Ulcers											
Dropsy											
Cancer											
Leprosy, Itch											
Venereal Complaints											
Madness											
Old Age											
Child-bed											
Flux, or Loss of Blood											
Rash											
Hooping-cough, asthma											
Small Pox											
Measles											
Scarlet Fever											
Indigestion											
Worms											
Rickets											
Unknown or concealed Disorders											
Casualties, &c.											
Sum of deaths, specifying age and sex											
Total deaths of both Sexes											

The

The celebrated astronomer, Mr. Wargentin, a member of ^{CHAP. V.} this useful society, has published in the Transactions of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, a very clear and accurate account of the manner in which the board carries on its correspondence, and collects the necessary information; and has drawn from the several registers an average computation of the annual deaths.

From several judicious calculations, formed from the registers of nine successive years, he computes, that, in the country, the annual proportion of deaths to births is as 1 to 35, or, if the year is remarkably healthy, to 36 or even 37; and at Stockholm as 1 to 20. He adds, that, during the same period, there were 2036 men and 3540 women above the age of 90; of whom 212 men and 328 women were between 100 and 105; 31 men and 76 women between 106 and 110; 22 men and 19 women between 111 and 120; one man was 122; and one woman 127. At the end is a table of the marriages, deaths, and births, from 1755 to 1763.

We find, in Cantzler's* State of Sweden, that, in 1760, the population amounted to 2,383,113 souls; that of these were 162,888 inhabitants of towns, exclusive of the nobility and clergy; and 2,220,225 persons living in the country, including the nobility and clergy; and that, according to a fair calculation, the whole number might be classed in the following proportion: 10,645 nobles, comprizing 3597 under 15 years; 18,197 ecclesiasticks and their families, and students, including 7073 under 15; 162,888 inhabitants of towns and their families engaged in arts, manufactures, and trades; 2,191,383 inhabitants of the country employed in agriculture, the mines, &c.

I shall close this account with a list of the births and deaths in Sweden, and the number of inhabitants. The reader will not doubt its accuracy, when he is informed that I received it from Mr. Wargentin.

The list is classed according to the three great divisions of the kingdom.

* P. 186. Memoires pour servir à la formation, cannot be too highly recommended.
 connoissance du Royaume de Swede; an excellent work, which, for accuracy and in-

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In the first division, called Sweden Proper, comprehending the metropolis, Upland, Sodermanland, Nerike, Westmanland, Dalecarlia, and all the provinces to the North.

Years.	Births.			Males.	Deaths.	
	Males.	Females.	Total.		Females.	Total.
1749	12774	12605	25379	10857	11622	22479
1750	13708	13253	26961	10035	10110	20145
1751	15247	14518	29765	9916	10236	20152
1752	14347	13703	28050	11875	11948	23823
1774	15364	14971	30335	10029	10617	20646
1775	16180	15697	31877	10882	10920	21802
1776	15220	14537	29757	10622	10621	21243
1777	15047	14541	29588	12120	12118	24238

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	363541	419326	782867
1776	433494	480154	913648

In the kingdom of Gothland, comprehending Warmeland, Wœstergothland, Ostergothland, and all the provinces south of them, with the islands of Oeland and Gothland.

Years.	Births.			Males.	Deaths.	
	Males.	Females.	Total.		Females.	Total.
1749	17327	16777	34104	13185	13852	27037
1750	19111	18439	37550	13406	14071	27477
1751	20016	19510	39526	13166	13584	26750
1752	18831	18092	36923	12698	12946	25644
1774	19507	18678	38185	11506	12311	23817
1775	20301	19465	39766	13691	14456	28147
1776	19016	18166	37182	11999	12454	24453
1777	19466	18570	38036	13227	13797	27024

Number of Inhabitants.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	477079	525781	1,002860
1776	553171	594985	1,148156

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In Finland.							CHAP. V.
Years.	Births.			Males.	Deaths.		
	Males.	Females.	Total.		Females.	Total.	
1749	8546	8257	16803	5827	5828	11655	
1750	8879	8550	17429	5446	5777	11223	
1751	9508	9342	18850	5149	5326	10475	
1752	9737	9658	19395	5698	5702	11400	
1774	12211	11731	23942	6431	6321	12752	
1775	12296	12167	24463	7681	7782	15463	
1776	12044	11880	23924	9361	9362	18723	
1777	12609	12223	24832	9880	9915	19795	
1778	13614	13202	26816	8010	7688	15698	
1779	14180	13579	27759	7223	6872	14095	

Number of Souls in Finland.

	Males.	Females.	Total.
In 1752	205002	224910	429912
1776	298322	311823	610145

List of Births and Deaths in the whole Kingdom.

Years.	Births.			Males.	Deaths.		Total.
	Males.	Females.	Total.		Females.	Total.	
1749	38647	37639	76286	29869	31302	61171	
1750	41698	40242	81940	28887	29958	58845	
1751	44771	43370	88141	28231	29146	57377	
1752	42915	41453	84368	30592	30275	60867	
1774	47082	45380	92462	27966	29249	57215	
1775	47492	46030	93522	32254	33158	65412	
1776	46280	44583	90863	31982	32437	64419	
1777	47122	45334	92456	35227	35830	71957	

Number of Souls in Sweden.

In 1752	1,045622	1,170017	2,215639
1776	1,284987	1,386962	2,671949
1781	About	—	2,767000

By comparing the population of these three different epochs, the reader will perceive that the country has been gradually recovering from that exhausted state to which it had been reduced by the wars of Charles XII.; and that, within the space of thirty years, the number of inhabitants have increased 551,361, or a fifth part of its present population.

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II. The revenues of Sweden are chiefly drawn from the rents of the crown-demefnes; part of the great tythes; a poll-tax*; duties upon exports and imports; upon mines and forges; upon distilled spirits; deductions from salaries, pensions, and places; tax upon chimnies; and the monopoly of falt-petre.

The net revenues in 1772, before the revolution, amounted to £908,434; and by a few subsequent regulations † agreed to by the diet, convened upon the change of government, have been raised to about £1,000,000. This receipt, however, must not be considered as equivalent to the annual expenditure; for the greatest part of the military forces, and a small portion of the naval establishment, which in other governments exhaust so large a share of the publick supplies, are maintained with no charge to the crown. At the diet of 1778, the states voted the king a free gift of £175,000 upon the birth of the hereditary prince.

No country perhaps has ever, in a greater degree than Sweden, experienced such severe distresses from a want of gold and silver specie, from a scarcity even of copper money ‡, and its enormous bulk, and from the fluctuating value of the bank-notes, which at one period formed almost the

* About 1s. 3d. each person. The poll-tax is paid by every person, male and female, between the ages of 15 and 63; excepting the nobles and their domesticks; soldiers and government sailors; and every married couple among the lower class of farmers of a certain description, having four children, of which the youngest is under eight years of age.

† Such as assigning to the crown the monopoly for the distillation of spirituous liquors; and causing certain taxes to be paid in silver specie, which were before discharged

in copper money, and which, in effect, doubles the receipt of those particular imposts.

‡ On account of the advantages attending the exportation of the copper money, the intrinsic value of which was superior to its nominal, and the immense number of bank-notes, there was scarcely any thing but paper-currency. At one period even private shop-keepers issued small printed notes, some so low as 1d. 2d. or 3d. value, which they gave in exchange for the bank-notes.

only currency. These evils, noticed by many travellers * CHAP.
V. who have written upon Sweden, and which threatened a total bankruptcy, are now entirely removed by the king, to whom the states of 1772 consigned the difficult province of reforming the currency. His majesty having obtained in Holland a loan of £750,000, called in a considerable part of the bank-notes, and introduced such a plentiful supply of silver coin, remarkable for its purity and convenience, that in the course of my progress through Sweden, I found not the least difficulty of procuring, even in the distant provinces and smallest towns, silver money in exchange for gold or bank-notes. The king has also, in a great measure, abolished the numerous and complicated modes of pecuniary computation, which varied in different places, and under different circumstances; and has enjoined one simple species of reckoning to be general throughout the kingdom, and to be indiscriminately used on all occasions †.

* The reader will easily conceive the present improvements of the coin by the following passage in Mr. Wraxall's Tour, which he made in 1774, only five years before I visited Sweden. "Whatever quantity of precious metals they have in the metropolis of this kingdom, I have not yet seen one bit, however small, either of gold or silver, in my long journey from Helsingborg to this place; nor have they, I am well assured, any such commodities in the provinces. In lieu of these two articles, generally used amongst us, they have two other articles which supply their place, namely, copper and paper. Their bank-notes are as low as one shilling and sixpence; and they have them of all values, rising gradually from that sum. It is often not a little diverting, when I tendered them one of fifty copper dollars, which is adequate to 12s. 6d. to see them bring both their hands full of copper coins: nor can they convert it into current money by any other means." Wrax-

all's Tour, p. 96.

† They computed, on different occasions, and in different parts of the kingdom, by tons of gold, silver dollars, copper dollars, rixdollars, plotes, stivers, runstics, or œhres, some whereof were imaginary, while the intrinsic worth of others were different from their real. A ton of gold = 100,000 silver dollars, or 300,000 copper dollars, silver money being of triple value to copper money; a rixdollar = 5s.; a plote = 1s. 8d.; silver dollar = 10d.; a copper dollar = 3½d.; = 10 stivers and 2 runstics; a stiver = 1 farthing and ¼. = 3 runstics or copper œhres. The new mode of computation introduced by his majesty, is by rixdollars, skelins, and runstics. A rixdollar = 5s. contains 48 skelins, and a skelin 12 runstics. This mode has been adopted by government, and will, in process of time, become general; though the people are from long habit so attached to their antient complicated manner of reckoning, that they will not readily renounce it.

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III. The military Establishment.

The Swedish army is divided into national militia and garrison regiments. The latter, or troops upon the German footing, are composed of natives and foreigners duly enlisted, and are stationed in the several garrisons, and receive their pay in money. Although the national militia first took a regular form under John III. yet its fixed establishment, as it subsists at present, was settled by Charles XI. That prince resumed the grants of the crown-demefnes which had been lavished by his predecessors: some he restored on condition that the proprietors of a certain portion should furnish a foldier; others he allotted for the maintenance of the officers. It was also enacted during his reign, that the lands thus assigned for the support of the national militia, should for ever remain appropriated to that purpose; and these regulations were further confirmed and augmented in 1723, with the additional clause, that they should be considered as a fundamental part of the constitution, and should never be abolished.

In order to comprehend the nature of the Swedish militia, it is necessary to observe, that the kingdom is divided into districts, which are respectively bound to furnish and maintain a stipulated number of troops. With this view, each holder of a certain quantity of crown-land, called a *Hemman*, provides a foldier, assigns for his maintenance a small portion of ground, a cottage, and a barn; and allows him 100 copper dollars, or £1. 7s. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per annum, a suit of coarse clothes, and two pair of shoes. When the foldier is absent, either with the army in time of war, during the annual reviews, or is employed in the service of government, the landholder cultivates his ground * for the subsistence of his

* In my route through Sweden, I stopped to examine a portion of ground appropriated
wife

wife and family; and, when he is present, may call upon him to work at the rate of the common wages bestowed upon a labourer*. Upon the death of the soldier, his widow and children are obliged to cede the ground and house to his successor, whom the landholder is bound to provide within the space of three months upon pain of being fined. CHAP.
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With respect to the cavalry, a certain number of *bemmans* are joined to furnish a man and horse fully equipped, and to maintain them both.

Beside 4s. 2d. annually paid by the proprietors of each *bemman*, towards defraying the expence of the soldiers uniforms, some crown-demefnes are set apart for the same purpose, but in so small a quantity, as to be scarcely adequate to the charge of clothing two regiments. On this account, as the national troops are not, in time of peace, under arms for a longer space than three weeks, they are seldom provided with new uniforms oftener than once in eight or nine years.

Upon a similar principle, the officers of these national troops receive, instead of their pay in money, certain estates in land, called *bostelle*, which are situated in the same province to which the regiment belongs. They are allowed an additional appointment in corn from the king's tythes. Each province being divided into a number of *bemmans* sufficient to support a regiment, the smaller provinces furnish the regiments of infantry, and the larger those of cavalry. The estate appropriated to the colonel is situated towards the center of the province, and of the grounds assigned to his regiment; that of the captain in the middle of those belonging to his company; and in a similar gradation to the corporal.

to the maintenance of a corporal of infantry: it measured 147 yards in length, and 117 in breadth; but as it was in general a deep sand, only part was capable of being advantageously cultivated, so that it was by

no means sufficient for the subsistence of the corporal and his family.

* Which in some parts that I visited was about 3d. per day.

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In every year, either before or after the harvest, when the peasants are least employed, the companies of each regiment are separately assembled for a fortnight or three weeks. The landholder is obliged to transport the man and his baggage to the place of rendezvous, and support him during his stay at the review. Beside these annual encampments, once in three years a general review of each regiment takes place. The men are also constantly exercised on Sundays after divine service in small parties, and in larger corps for some time before the encampment, but more particularly in Spring. If, in time of war, these troops are marched out of the country, the crown receives the usual contributions from the landholder, and provides the foldiers with clothes, provisions, &c.

In the Spring of 1779 the following was nearly the state of the Swedish army :

Regular Troops.

Nine * regiments of infantry	-	-	-	9,000
Two of cavalry	-	-	-	800
Artillery	-	-	-	2,900

Total of regular troops	-	-	12,700
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National Militia.

Twenty-one regiments of infantry, about	24,000
Seven of cavalry	7,400
Light dragoons	3,400

Total of national militia	-	-	34,800
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Total of the garrison and national troops	47,500
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* The largest regiments contain 1670, the smallest 1000, and are divided into companies. The staff-officers are a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, two majors, a quartermaster, who ranks as captain, and two ad-

jutants.—Each company of 150 men has a captain, lieutenant, ensign, five non-commissioned officers, and six corporals, the latter of whom are included in the 150.

IV. I shall close this chapter with a few remarks on the Penal Laws. CHAP.
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There are four superior courts of justice, called Hof-Rætt : at Stockholm for Sweden Proper ; at Lindkioping for the kingdom of Gothland ; at Abo for South Finland ; and at Vasa for North Finland. No sentence of death passed by the inferior courts can be carried into execution, unless ratified by these tribunals.

The inferior tribunals are *Kiamar's Rætt*, which assemble, as occasion requires, in the principal towns ; and the *Harads Rætt*, or a kind of assizes, generally held three times in the year under the county judges. It may not be uninteresting to mention in this place, that, in the latter, there is a kind of jury, consisting of twelve peasants, chosen by the district, and confirmed by the governor of the province : they continue in office for life, and seven of them form a court. In all criminal cases the judge demands their opinion, which prevails against his decision if they should be unanimous. But this institution, according to practice, is a mere formality : for the jurymen are so ignorant and poor, that most of them pay an implicit deference to the dictates of the judge ; besides, their sentiments have only force when they *all* agree ; and they are not, as with us, obliged to be unanimous. The supineness indeed, and passiveness, of these insignificant retainers of justice is so notorious, that a man, remarkable for his indolence and inattention, is commonly said to be *as sleepy as a jurymen*.

The usual mode of execution in Sweden is beheading and hanging. Every criminal capitally convicted is indulged with the privilege of petitioning the king : they either complain of unjust condemnation, and in that case demand a re-
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vifal of their fentence; or, if they allow themfelves to be guilty, may implore pardon or a mitigation of punifhment. So mild are the penal laws, that feveral offences, which in other countries are confidered as capital, are chaftized by whipping, condemnation to bread and water, imprifonment and hard labour; more than 120 ftrokes of the rod are never inflicted; nor is a criminal fentenced to bread and water for more than 28 days.

Many flagrant abufes in the courts of juftice have been reformed and corrected by the prefent king. In all cafes of high treason, it is enjoined that previous notice muft be fent to the crown before any court can commence an inquiry: an ordinance which has put a ftop to many frivolous and vexatious accufations, which ufed to be brought againft the fubject. Before the acceffion of his prefent majefty, it was very common for perfons indicted, but not convicted, of crimes, to fuffer an imprifonment of feveral years without being tried; by the abolition of many tedious forms in the prefent reign, every criminal is arraigned within a fhort period after commitment, the good effects of which alteration require no comment. His majefty has increafed the faldries of the judges, and configned their fhare of the fines inflicted by their decifion to other ufes: by this judicious regulation he has greatly leffened the corruption and injuftice which neceffarily prevailed in thofe tribunals; for the fcanty incomes of the judges expofed them to bribery; while a fhare in the fines rendered them interefted in convicting the criminal. The king has alfo promoted the rights of humanity, by fuppreffing, in 1773, the cruel and abfurd practice of torture, which was employed for the purpofe of obtaining a confeffion of guilt from fufpected perfons.

One excellent regulation in the courts of Sweden deserves to be mentioned, and adopted in all countries; it is, that a criminal is tried without the least expence to the plaintiff or defendant. The prosecutor denounces a person suspected of guilt to the king's officer of justice, who carries on the process at the publick charge.

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C H A P. VI.

Departure from Stockholm.—Description of Upsala.—Anti-ent palace.—Catastrophe of the Sture family.—Madness of Eric XIV.—Cathedral.—Tomb and character of Gustavus Vasa.—Genealogical table of the kings of Sweden his descendants.—Tomb of John III.—Catharine Jaghellon.—Benedict Oxenstiern.—Laurentius Petri.—Account of the university.—Publick Library.—Codex Argenteus.—Visit to professor Bergman.—Royal Society.—Morasteen antient place of enthronement for the kings of Sweden.

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ALTHOUGH my stay in Sweden was limited, I was unwilling to quit the country without visiting Gotheborg, the most commercial town next to Stockholm, and viewing the canal of Trolhætta, which had been represented to me as a most stupendous work. My companions preferring to see the mines of Fahlun and Danamora, I quitted them at Stockholm, and rejoined them at Carlscrona. Having purchased an open cart, the common travelling vehicle in this country, which was rendered more commodious by two arm chairs hung upon springs, I sat out early on the 4th of March, accompanied by a Swedish servant, who spoke French, as my interpreter; and arrived the same day at Upsala, which is distant about 45 miles from the capital.

Upsala, which stands in the beginning of an open plain fertile in grain and pasture, is a small, but very neat town, containing, exclusive of the students, about 3000 inhabitants. The ground plot is extremely regular: it is divided into two almost equal parts by a small rivulet; and the streets are drawn

drawn at right angles from a central kind of square ; a few of the houses are built with brick and stuccoed, but the generality are constructed with trunks, smoothed into the shape of planks, and painted red, and the roofs are covered in with turf. Each house has its small court-yard, or garden.

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Old Upsala, which is a place of high antiquity, and occurs in the earliest accounts of these Northern countries, is supposed to have stood at a small distance from that which now bears the same name ; and was much celebrated as the principal place of sacrifice in times of Pagan superstition, and the residence of the high-priest of Oden *. The present town, or New Upsala, is far anterior to the foundation of Stockholm : no authentick records, indeed, ascertain the exact time of its origin ; but several Swedish antiquaries have with much probability conjectured, that it was at first a suburb of Old Upsala, and rose upon its ruins when that town became deserted, and fell into decay †.

Upsala was formerly the metropolis of Sweden, and the royal residence. The antient palace was begun in 1549 ‡ by Gustavus Vasa, and completed by Eric XIV. It was a spacious and magnificent building, until great part of it was consumed by fire in 1702. The remains, which stand upon an elevated site, and command a fine prospect of the adjacent country, consist of a wing, a small part of another, and the principal front, which has been repaired, and is covered with a red stucco. An old entrance, vast masses of ruins, arches, vaults, and large piles of brick and mortar, are evident traces of its antient splendour. The room in which the diet of Sweden used to assemble is now converted into a granary, and affords no other proofs of its former importance than its

* Snorro Sturlensis Hist. Reg. Norweg. Vol. I. c. 76. Dahlin's Geschichte Von Sweden, Vol. I. passim.

† Perinsskioldi Upsala Nova. ‡ Ibid. p. 317.

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dimensions, being 140 feet in length, and 90 in breadth. The few remaining apartments in the wing which is not entire, are used as the common jail for criminals. Underneath are three dungeons, which were formerly appropriated to the confinement of state prisoners, the most remarkable of whom was count Svante Sture, descended from an antient family, which had given several administrators to Sweden, and which, before the election of Gustavus Vasa, had the fairest pretensions to the throne. Upon a door of one of these dungeons my conductor pointed out several characters coarsely notched, which, according to tradition, were made by count Svante in the agony of his distress, and as a memorial of his grief for the death of his son. The sight of these characters, and the name of Sture, brought to my recollection the sudden extinction of that much injured family, to which these walls were a witness; and the gloomy madness of Eric XIV. which occasioned that dreadful catastrophe. The mistrust and suspicion which that unfortunate monarch had conceived against the nobility of Sweden increasing with the distresses of his reign, hurried him at length into a state of insanity: he saw a plot in the most common occurrences; and gave implicit credit to all the idle rumours of intended revolts, artfully spread by his favourites to intimidate or exasperate him.

The Stures, as the principal family in the kingdom, had long been the chief object of his jealousy, and had already felt some unwarantable acts of authority. Nicholas, the son of count Svante, had lately experienced the following instances of his tyranny and caprice. Being, in 1566, cited by Eric before the diet, on a charge of misconduct at the siege of Bohus, he was found guilty, and condemned to death. The king, however, instead of suffering the sentence to be inflicted,

inflicted, or of remitting it entirely, acted with his usual in-
consistency. He ordered him to be carried in mock proces-
sion through the streets of Stockholm with a crown of straw
upon his head; and yet, soon after this publick affront, he
again received him into favour, and appointed him an em-
bassador to the court of Loraine. But I hasten to the event
which gave rise to this detail, the imprisonment and extinc-
tion of the Sture family. Upon the slightest suspicions
merely derived from rumour, and some suborned witnesses,
count Svante and his sons Eric and Nicholas, and several
other persons of the first distinction, were in 1567 accused
of conspiring against the life of the king, arrested, and con-
fined in the palace of Upsala. While their trial was yet pend-
ing, a report being spread that his brother John, whom he
had imprisoned at Gripsholm, had escaped from confine-
ment; he suddenly repaired to the apartment in which Ni-
cholas Sture was confined, and saluted him with the appel-
lation of traitor; the young count endeavouring to appease
his fury by throwing himself at his feet, the king stabbed
him in the arm; the other, drawing the dagger from the
wound, kissed it and presented it to Eric, who, unmoved with
such an affecting instance of loyalty, repeated the blow, and
ordered his servant to finish the murder. Seized with an in-
stantaneous fit of remorse, he flew to the dungeon of count
Svante, and falling at his feet, called him his friend, exclaim-
ing in an agony of despair, "In God's name I entreat you to
"forgive what I have committed against you."—Willingly,"
replied the old count, melting into tears of compassion, "but
"if my son's life is in danger, you must answer for it before
"God."—"Yes, yes," replied the king in a transport of rage,
"I was sure that I should never obtain your pardon;" then
giving orders to the jailer to secure the count, he hastily
quitted

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quitted the palace in a peasant's dress, and, accompanied by a few guards, roved about the country in a frantick manner. Dennis Bury, his preceptor, overtaking him at a small distance from the town, fell prostrate at his feet, and conjured him to spare the lives of the noble prisoners; a petition which proved as fatal to himself as to the persons for whom he interceded: for Eric gave signs to one of his guards, who killed Bury upon the spot, and dispatched immediate orders to the jailer at Upsala for the execution of the prisoners; orders of a madman, which were but too readily obeyed, and which extirpated at once the antient family of the Stures.

Mean while Eric wandered about the woods in a state of remorse and distraction; and was discovered on the fourth day after his departure from Upsala by his wife Catharine: she found him in the parsonage of Odensala wild with grief and despair*, and scattering money among the people who were assembled upon this melancholy occasion. The presence of his beloved Catharine operated like a charm; she calmed his agonies, prevailed upon him to take nourishment and repose, and accompanied him to Stockholm, where he gradually recovered his senses†. Soon, however, relapsing into his former state of mistrust and suspicions, his administration became so weak and odious, that, in the following year, he was deposed by his two brothers, who united their forces against him. John ascended the throne which Eric had so unworthily filled. In another place I shall have occasion to mention the circumstances of his imprisonment and death‡.

Upsala is an archiepiscopal see, and one of the most antient Christian establishments in Sweden. Everinus was the

* Einem wildem Thier aehulicher als Celsus Hist. d'Eric XIV. Liv. 9.
einem Menschen. Dahlin. † See Chap. IX. of this book.

‡ See Dahlin's Gef. Vol. III. p. 511, &c.

first bishop; by birth an Englishman, he came, in 1026, ^{CHAP. VI.} into this country at the request of king Olaus Scotkonung, in order to assist in converting the natives of Old Upsala to Christianity*. The similarity of the English and Swedish languages is mentioned as the motive which first brought Everinus, and afterwards several of his countrymen into these parts as preachers of the Gospel. He was no less qualified for this task from the meekness of his disposition, than from his knowledge of the Swedish idiom; not forcing, as was but too usual, the natives to embrace the Christian doctrines by violence and persecution; but introducing the Gospel by persuasion and example. His successors in the see resided for the most part at Sigtuna until 1120, when Nicholas Ulphson fixed the residence at Old Upsala. Stephen, a native of East-Gothland, the seventh bishop, was the first archbishop: he was raised to that dignity in 1164, and died in 1185. Falko, who was consecrated in 1267, and expired in 1276, first transferred the residence to New Upsala. The immediate occasion of this change in the archiepiscopal seat was the destruction of the cathedral at Old Upsala by a violent fire in 1246, which was soon afterwards began to be rebuilt on the spot where it now stands †.

In the center of the town stands the cathedral, a large building of brick: the architecture is in the Gothick style, excepting two towers of later date, which are ornamented with small marble pillars of the Dorick order, and which disfigure the general symmetry of the other parts. This cathedral was begun in the middle of the 13th century, under the direction of Stephen Bonneville, a French architect ‡, who followed in its construction the model of the church of Notre

* See Dahlin, Vol. II. 468, &c.

† Perinsk. Chap. II. and IX.

‡ Perinsk. Mon. Ullarakenfia, p. 18.

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Dame at Paris. It has several times been greatly damaged by fire, but has been as frequently repaired.

Upon entering the cathedral I beheld with the greatest reverence, and even a degree of enthusiastick admiration, the sepulchre which covers the venerable ashes of Gustavus Vasa; it stands in a private chapel, and is an oblong monument of marble, with wooden pyramids at each angle*: his figure is represented in marble between those of his two first wives Catharine and Margaret, whose remains are interred in the same tomb.

Born in a private station, and bred in the school of adversity, Gustavus obtained and deserved a crown by the first of all titles, the gratitude of his countrymen, for a series of long and faithful services. Sweden was indebted to him for her deliverance from a foreign yoke, and from the oppressions of a tyrant, for the abolition of an elective, and the establishment of an hereditary monarchy, and for the introduction of the protestant religion.

An inscription upon the tomb informs us, that Gustavus was born in 1490, chosen administrator of Sweden 1520, elected king 1523, crowned 1528, and that he died 1560 in the 70th year of his age, and in the 40th of a glorious reign. Equally great in the publick characters of a legislator, warrior, and politician, he distinguished himself in every station of life; whether we consider his cool intrepidity and enterprizing spirit, his honest integrity and political foresight, his talents for legislation, his propensity to letters, and encouragement of learning, his affability to the lowest ranks, and his solid and enlightened piety. All his great qualities, set off by a majestick

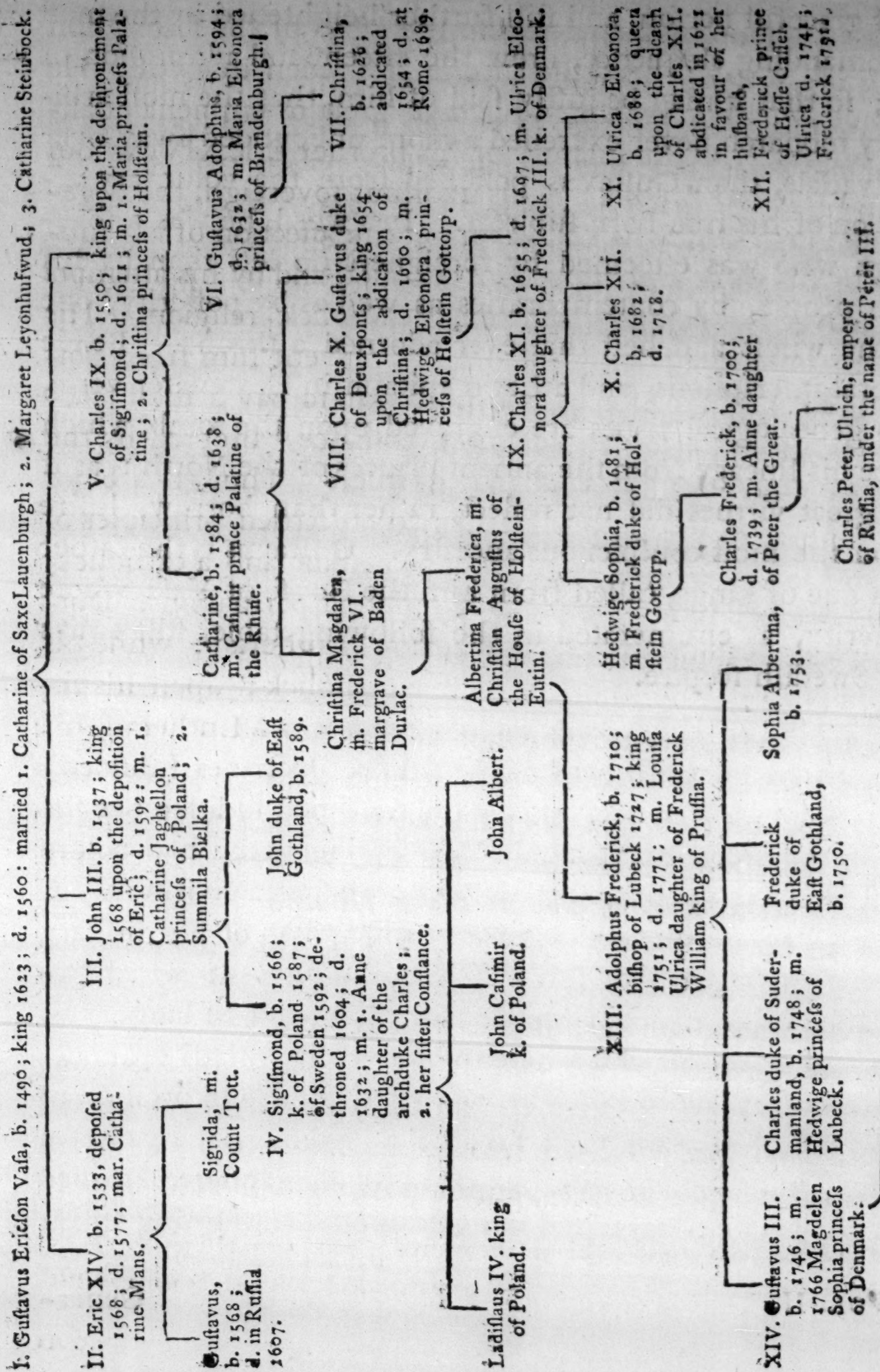
* There were four pyramids; but one having fallen down, there are only three remaining.

and

and graceful person, and still further heightened by the most commanding eloquence, drew the esteem and admiration of all; so that it may be justly said of him, that the most arbitrary monarch never exercised a more unbounded sway over his vassals, than Gustavus possessed from the voluntary affection of his free-born subjects. In a word, he was a sovereign who was esteemed by foreigners no less than by his own people, by contemporaries as well as by posterity, one of the wisest and best that ever adorned a throne. Beside several inscriptions, and a Latin epitaph in Hexameter verse, two genealogical tables are engraved upon the tomb, which trace his lineage from the antient princes of the North: as if his great virtues did not reflect, rather than borrow, lustre upon the most conspicuous ancestry. Gustavus is the father of a line of kings, called from him the House of Vasa, whose posterity, as enumerated in the following table, still sways the Swedish sceptre.

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Genealogical Table of the KINGS of SWEDEN of the House of VASA.



In an adjoining chapel repose the ashes of his second son ^{CHAP. VI.} John III. who ascended the throne of Sweden in 1568. He did not owe his elevation to his own great or eminent qualities, but solely to the insanity of his brother Eric XIV. whom he contrived to depose. This uxorious sovereign, the degenerate son of Gustavus Vasa, soon lost the affection of his subjects by his weak and imprudent conduct, and by his attempts to recover Sweden to the Roman catholick religion. His tender conscience, though it did not prevent him from poisoning his brother Eric, yet induced him to pay a most scrupulous obedience to the ridiculous penance* ordered by the pope for the commission of that murder. Though a bigot in all sects, he seems to have formed no settled principles of religion; but became by turns a protestant and a catholick, as he was governed by persons of different persuasions. During his father's reign he was a zealous Lutheran; while his first wife Catharine lived, a sincere catholick; upon his second marriage with a Swedish lady, who was a Lutheran, his zeal for the establishment of the Roman doctrines subsided; and at his death he expressed an almost total indifference for the introduction of that new liturgy which he had before been so active in enforcing, to the hazard of a civil war. A short epitaph, after an exaggerated description of his military reputation, ascribes to John an accomplishment which he possessed in an eminent degree, the knowledge of languages. It might have added, an extensive erudition in all branches of literature; more indeed †, according to the expression of a Swedish historian, than became a sovereign; a graceful person, and the most winning affability of manners. He died in 1592, neither regretted nor esteemed; consigning to his

* Namely, to fast one day in the week; a penance, which, it is said, he never omitted.
Dahlin, Vol. IV. p. 80.

† Dahlin.

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son Sigismund king of Poland, together with his unpopularity and superstition, the sceptre of Sweden without authority; a precarious possession, soon to be seized by the father* of Gustavus Adolphus.

Under a superb monument, erected to her memory by her doating husband, is deposited the body of Catharine Jaghellon, princess of Poland, and consort of John III. a woman of great beauty and elegant manners. By her unfortunate ascendancy over her uxorious lord, she occasioned all the religious feuds which disgraced his administration; and, by instilling the most intolerant principles into her son Sigismund, entailed upon this kingdom all the civil troubles which distracted his reign; and which ended in the loss of his Swedish crown. Her attachment to the Roman catholic religion, in which she had been educated, was as sincere as it was firm; and would not have been mentioned to her discredit, if she had not been inflamed with a blind rage for making profelytes by compulsion, which characterizes the bigotted professors of that persuasion. Her death, which happened in 1583, was friendly to the peace of Sweden, as her compliant husband, when no longer inflamed by her presence, cooled in his attempt to force popery upon his subjects; and the heats of religious dispute, which she had kindled into a flame, subsided for a time.

In a small chapel is the sepulchre of the Stures, that illustrious family whose extinction has been already related. The ashes of the three Stures, who fell a sacrifice to the tyranny of Eric, are distinguished by a monument, which was erected by the widow of count Svante; it contains, beside

* Charles IX. third son of Gustavus Vasa, being the father of an hero who gave law to Europe. who is less known for his own merits, which were highly deserving of a crown, than for

several

several epitaphs in Hexameter verse, a pathetick inscription
in Latin prose. The substance whereof is as follows: CHAP.
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“ This is the burial place of the last remaining branch of
“ the Stures, whose antient and royal lineage was illustrated
“ by Steno, Svante and Steno, three successive administrators
“ of Sweden; deservedly, for their merits and virtues, styled
“ Fathers of their country, But Svante, son of the latter
“ Steno, raised to the dignity of count at the coronation of
“ Eric XIV. and his sons Nicholas and Eric, both eminent in
“ war and peace, fell victims to a violent death on the 4th
“ of May, 1566. All that was great and noble could not
“ soothe the iron heart of their sovereign. Reader, if thou
“ art not equally unfeeling, deplore the unmerited catastrophe
“ of such exalted virtue.”

A tomb, erected in honour of count Oxenstiern, has been mistaken by some travellers for that which covers the ashes of Axel, the celebrated chancellor of Sweden, who directed the administration of affairs under Gustavus Adolphus, Christina, and Charles VIII. one of the greatest men that Sweden, fertile in great men, ever produced. But his remains were deposited in another place*. The person who lies interred in this cathedral is his nephew Benedict Oxenstiern, who seems to have inherited the political abilities and great integrity of his uncle. Benedict was born in 1623, and enjoyed the favour of four successive sovereigns; all of whom had the highest consideration for his talents and abilities. After filling several great offices, he was raised, in 1688, to the highest civil employment, the chancellorship, and died in 1702, in full possession of his master's confidence and the people's esteem.

* Axel Oxenstiern died at Stockholm in August, 1654; and his remains were carried to Tyholm, and there interred in the family vault. Mem. de Christine, Vol. I. p. 483.

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Falko, the first archbishop who was interred in this church, was a great benefactor to the see; and is the same person mentioned in the former part of this chapter, who, in 1273, transferred the episcopal seat from Old to New Upsala. He also caused the bones of his predecessors to be transported from their burial-place in Old Upsala, to the cathedral, where they were deposited with great solemnity and many ceremonies*.

The first protestant archbishop was Laurentius Petri of the province of Nerike, who, in conjunction with his brother Olaus Petri, first preached the reformed doctrines to the Swedes, and translated the Bible into his native tongue. Soon after the establishment of the reformation, the introduction of which was greatly owing to his labours, he was, in 1531, consecrated archbishop; and continued to fill the see with credit until his death, which happened in 1570, in the 73d year of his age.

In the sacristy of the cathedral are contained several relicks, both sacred and historical. The latter consist of a few curiosities, which I shall particularize from their allusion to the history of Sweden. The first I shall mention is an old log of wood rudely carved into the resemblance of a head scarcely human, and called the image of the God Thor, formerly worshipped in these parts; and to whom human sacrifices used to be offered at Old Upsala. That this image is of very high antiquity should seem evident from its rude workmanship; and it may probably have been one of the deities to whom the superstitious inhabitants paid their public homage; as, in early ages, and amid a barbarous people, the idols are in general of the coarsest form. With respect to the figure, I shall observe, that Dahlberg, in his *Sue-*

* Perinckold, p. 135.

cia Antiqua et Hodierna, has given an engraving of it by far too elegant to bear much resemblance to the original; but the reader will find a more accurate delineation in Perin-
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 kiold's *Monumenta Ullarekarensia*, in which no foreign embellishments are added.

A whetstone, several feet in length, next attracted my attention; which, as tradition relates, Albert, who in 1434 ascended the throne of Sweden, sent in mockery to Margaret of Waldemar, recommending her to sharpen upon it her own sword and the weapons of all her army: a taunt which he would willingly have retracted, when routed and taken prisoner by the very woman whom he affected to despise.

The third curiosity was a ragged stripe of linen fastened to a staff like a pair of colours, called the shift of Margaret; which was carried in battle as the main standard, in order to animate the troops by the recollection of her martial spirit. These remains were preserved at Nuremberg, brought from thence when that town was taken by the Swedes, and deposited in the cathedral of Upsala in honour of the Semiramis of the North. How this shift was first procured by the inhabitants of Nuremberg, why it was there considered as a relick, and the exact period when it was imported into Sweden, I must leave to be ascertained by those who are disposed to trace its history and adventures. I did not learn, however, that it has ever had the honour of giving a name to any particular colour like the shift of Isabella queen of Castile.

The kings of Sweden were formerly crowned in this cathedral; but that ceremony is now performed at Stockholm, Charles XII being the last monarch who was inaugurated at Upsala.

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This town is particularly celebrated for its university, the most antient in Sweden. In 1246 Birger Jarl established a school at Upsala; and in 1478 Steen Sture administrator of Sweden laid the first foundation of the university; the plan whereof had been formed, but not carried into execution, by Eric of Pomerania: the regulations were modelled after those of Paris. The institution was confirmed in a diet which met at Strængnæs on the 2d of July; and the university was opened with due ceremony on the 7th of October in the same year*. Gustavus Vasa warmly patronized it, as being the place in which he had completed his education; and as it was greatly fallen into decay, he conferred upon it so many additional privileges, and endowed it in so ample a manner, that he is justly called its second founder. Under John III. it was transferred to Stockholm; but again restored to Upsala by Charles IX.† During the constant wars in which that prince was engaged with his rival Sigismund king of Poland, it considerably declined; but was again revived by Gustavus Adolphus, whose extensive knowledge and protection of letters are lost in the splendour of his military achievements. That great monarch, beside constructing a large building at his own expence, endowed the university with his patrimonial estate of Vasa; by which donation the salaries of the professors were augmented, and 150 students maintained. His example was followed by his successors, as well as by several individuals; and as the funds have increased, the number of scholars supported by them have been considerably enlarged.

At the head of the university is a chancellor (who is always a person of high rank and consequence), chosen by the

* Dahlin, Vol. II. p. 610.

† Meff. Scon. Illuf. Tom. IV. p. 37. Dahlin.

professors, and confirmed by his majesty : he regulates and explains the statutes ; composes all material differences ; and delivers all petitions and messages from the body to the king. When he is absent, his office is supplied by the archbishop of Upsala.

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The presidency devolves by rotation upon one of the professors, who is styled *Reſtor Magnificus* : he is a kind of justice of peace ; can punish the students for small delinquencies, by sending them to prison ; and settles such differences as are too trifling to be laid before the consistory.

The university has its own court of justice, called *Conſistorium Minus*, for the trial of the students and dependents : it is composed of a certain number of professors, and judges misdemeanors according to common law. An appeal lies from its decision to a *Conſistorium Majus*, which is formed by all the professors ; and from that in the last resort to the chancellor.

The professors are about twenty in number, of whom the principal are those of divinity, eloquence, botany, anatomy, chymistry, natural philosophy, astronomy, and agriculture. Their salaries are from £70 to £100 per annum. Upon a vacancy in any of the chairs, one of three candidates, chosen by their body, is nominated by the king. During each term the professors give four public lectures in the week *gratis* ; and the same number of private lectures, for which they receive from each of those who attend the stipulated sum of five shillings. A professor, who has continued in office for the space of thirty years, is allowed to retire with the title of *Emeritus*, and enjoys his salary during life.

Youth are admitted into the university of Upsala at about the age of sixteen, for the completion of their academical studies. They do not inhabit, as in our universities, any distinct

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college or colleges, there being no buildings for their accommodation, but lodge in the town; and repair to the general or private lectures, given by the several professors, either at their own houses, or at the publick halls appropriated to such purposes. The poorer students are assisted in their expences by being appointed to scholarships, called *stipendia*; some instituted by the crown, others by private persons, but generally allotted for the natives of particular provinces. The highest in value of these scholarships amount to about £13. per annum. The common degrees, granted by this university, are *Philosophiæ Candidatus*, which answers to a Batchelor of Arts; and *Philosophiæ Magister*, to a Master of Arts. A student ought to be 24 years of age, in order to be admitted to his first degree; but this rule is not strictly observed. Before he receives it, he must undergo several examinations from various professors, and compose a Latin theses, which he is bound to defend in the schools. Having taken his first degree, he may immediately enter upon his exercises for the second, which consist in another Latin theses, in holding a publick disputation, and reading a lecture in the same language. The graduates in divinity, law, and physick, are styled *Theologiæ*, &c. *Candidatus*, *Licentiatus*, and *Doctor*. The doctors of law and physick, in order to obtain their degrees, pass certain examinations, and hold publick acts in their respective professions, somewhat similar to those passed by the masters of arts; and the same forms are required from the doctors of divinity, unless, as is the usual practice, they are created by the university upon the king's mandate.

There is no academical discipline, the students being only liable to be punished by the president and consistory, according to the common law for misdemeanors and delinquencies. One institution, however, preserves some degree of order and subordination,

subordination, the division of the students into provincial CHAP.
VI. classes according to their respective counties. Each class has a professor at its head, called *Inspector*, and two subdirectors, styled *Curatores*: the other members are divided into *Seniores* and *Juniores*; the former of whom attend to, and, in some measure, regulate the conduct of the latter. Each class assembles separately, in the house of its particular professor, at least six times in the year, and oftener if occasion requires. On these meetings the students pass certain exercises, which they who do not perform cannot be raised to the rank of seniors.

Though the students have ordinarily no regular dress, yet, on particular occasions, and particularly when they take their masters' degree, they appear in a black silk cloak; they ought also, according to the statutes of the university, to put on the same dress when they keep their acts; but for this omission they usually pay a small fine. The professors are, in days of ceremony, clad in black cloaks; the doctors of divinity are distinguished by a hat of black silk; the doctors of law by one of white silk; and those of physick by one of green or sky-blue silk.

The number of students vary every year, as in all fluctuating bodies; but upon an average may be stated at about five hundred *, as may be collected from the following table.

	Spring Term.			August Term.		
	Admissions.	No. of Students.		Admissions.	No. of Students.	Acts.
In 1768	79	557	—	99	493	31
1769	94	552	—	116	568	54
1770	127	649	—	87	461	68
1771	106	492	—	88	488	45
1772	99	538	—	97	470	44
1773	130	569	—	83	563	62
1774	137	604	—	102	594	36
1775	133	628	—	115	657	64
1776	103	575	—	110	514	91
1777	115	531	—	113	541	51

* Chronick der Universitat Upsala in Schloetzer's Briefwechsel, III. p. 166.

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During this period of ten years were created 40 doctors in divinity, 23 in physick, and 151 in arts; and 47 theses were printed, which had been read before the university.

This university, justly called by Stillingfleet, "that great, and hitherto unrivaled, school of natural history," is certainly the first seminary of the North for academical education; and has produced, from the time of its institution, persons eminent in every branch of science. The learned publications, which have lately been given to the world by its members, sufficiently prove the flourishing state of literature in these parts; and the theses, composed by the students upon their admission to their degrees, would form a very interesting collection. Many of these tracts, upon various subjects of polite literature, antiquities, languages, &c. which have fallen under my observation, evidence the erudition and taste of the respective authors: among the works of this sort, which have widely diffused the fame of this learned society throughout Europe, are the *Amœnitates Academicae*, or a Collection of theses upon Natural History, held under the celebrated Linnæus, and chiefly selected by that able master. Dr. Pulteney, in the View of his Writings, gives the following account of this work: "In the year 1749 was published the first volume of a collection of Theses in octavo, under the title of *Amœnitates Academicæ*, seu *Dissertationes variæ, Physicæ, Medicæ, et Botanicae*. This publication has been continued, from time to time, to the completion of the seventh volume in the year 1769. These volumes, as soon as published, were regularly reprinted in Germany and Holland. It is supposed the first volume was not originally collected by Linnæus himself; but he at least reprinted it very early, and, that he might not be defrauded of the advantage of these publications,

“lications, he became the editor of all the succeeding vo-
 “lumes. As these academical dissertations had been recited
 “before Linnæus in his professorial character, and
 “were selected by himself, they have been regarded as of
 “equal authority nearly with his own writings; and many
 “of them do in a particular manner illustrate and exem-
 “plify divers parts of his works, the subjects having been
 “pointed out by himself in many instances for that purpose.
 “For these reasons we shall, in the course of this volume,
 “give a very brief account of the purport of each disserta-
 “tion, since they contain a great variety of curious intelli-
 “gence on the subjects of physick and natural history, every
 “where digested in the most scientifick taste *.”

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The library contains many valuable books and manu-
 scripts. Olaus Celsius, in a publication upon this subject †,
 informs us, that it owes its origin to Gustavus Adolphus,
 who presented the university as well with his own private
 collection, which was very considerable, as with several li-
 braries obtained in the different countries which he had
 over-run with his arms; it being his custom to reserve for
 himself, in all towns taken by storm, the books especially,
 as his share of the plunder ‡. Thus the Jesuits' library at
 Riga, that at Wurstenburgh, and those of many other con-
 quered towns in Poland, Germany, and Prussia, were trans-
 mitted to Upsala. His example was followed by his succef-
 fors; and thus the victorious arms of Sweden enriched the
 kingdom with these literary acquisitions. Olaus mentions
 Christina as a considerable benefactress to this library, and
 enumerates many private donors; among whom the most

* General View of the writings of Lin-
 næus, p. 45. p. 221 to 373.

† Bib. Upsal. Historia.

‡ Ingentem auri argentique prædam mi-
 litibus reliquisset rex, sibi solos reservavit
 libros, quos sine morâ in patriam misit,
 Upsalensi Bibliothecæ inferendos. Ibid. p. 21.

conspicuous are count Magnus de la Gardie, and Sparwenfeldt, the learned traveller *, whose curious collection, consisting, among others, of many rare Arabian, Syriac, and Coptic manuscripts, has been thought worthy of a separate publication.

Among the most valuable pieces of literary curiosity is a manuscript of the Four Gospels, called, from its silver letters, the *Codex Argenteus*; and which is supposed to be a copy of the Gothick translation made by Ulphilas, the apostle of the Goths in the fourth century. I examined this curious volume with great attention. It is of a quarto size; the leaves, which I scarcely know whether to call vellum, parchment, or papyrus †, are stained with a violet colour; and upon this ground the letters, which are all capitals, were afterwards painted in silver, excepting the initial characters and a few passages in gold. I was convinced, from a close inspection, that each letter was painted, and not formed ‡, as some authors have asserted, by a hot iron upon leaves of gold and silver. Most of the golden characters were become green by time; but the silver letters are still in good preservation. The codex is mutilated in several places; but what remains is, for the most part, perfectly legible.

This manuscript was, in 1597, first discovered in the library of the Benedictine Abbey of Werden in Westphalia, by Anthony Marillon, who extracted from it a few passages which were inserted in a Commentary on the Gothick alpha-

* Catalogus Centuriæ Lib. Rariss. &c.

† Le Long Bib. Sac. where it is called by different persons Codex Membranaceus, Codicem in pergamento, Codex in papyro exaratus. In the Bib. Up. Codex membrana rubra, p. 116. By Michaelis, a manuscript on vellum, p. 160.

‡ They appeared to me to be drawn, or painted, in the same manner as the initial letters in several of the finest Missals, and not stamped, as the learned Mr. Ihre conjectures, or imprinted on the vellum with hot metal types, in the like manner as the bookbinders at present letter the backs of books. See North. Ant. Vol. I. p. 367.

bet published by Bonaventura Vulcanius. Soon afterwards Arnold Mercator observed it in the same library, and transcribed also a few verses which Gruter * gave to the world in his *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*. From the Abbey of Werden it was transferred to Prague during the short period in which that town was occupied by Frederick Elector Palatine. In 1648, Prague being stormed by the Swedes, it was found among the literary spoils by count Konigsmark, and sent as a most valuable present to Christina. The queen is said to have given it to Isaac Vossius; but it is most probable that the crafty Dutchman took it without permission, among many other rare books and manuscripts, when he pillaged † her majesty's library during the confusion which preceded her abdication. Upon the death of Vossius it was purchased from his executor by count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie for about £250, and presented by him to the university of Upsala, where it now remains.

Three editions of this *Codex Argenteus* have been given to the publick, the first printed at Dort, the second at Stockholm, and the third at Oxford. The first was issued at Dort in 1665, by Francis Junius, who borrowed the manuscripts from Vossius, and was accompanied with Observations and a Glossary, by Thomas Marshall. In this edition the text was a *fac-simile* of the original §.

* Gruter Inf. Ant. p. 146. He calls it Gothica vel Germanica. The curious reader, who compares the text in Gruter with that of the similar passages in Lye, will observe considerable inaccuracies in the former.

† Memoires de Christine, vol I. p. 308. In the library at Leyden is still preserved a curious collection, called *Furta Vossiana*, which he is supposed to have pillaged from

Christina's library.

§ Another impression of this work is supposed to have been printed at Amsterdam in 1672; but this is in reality the same as the former, with nothing more than another title page, affixing a new date and place of impression, according to a fraud not unfrequent among booksellers.

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The second edition was published at Stockholm, 1672, by the learned Stiernhielm; it differs from that of Junius, in giving the text in Latin, and not in Gothick characters.

Notwithstanding the reputation of those two learned editors for their critical skill and exactness, yet Benzelius, first librarian of the university, and afterwards archbishop of Upsala, upon comparing their texts with that of the original, discovered so many false readings and omissions, that he again collated the manuscript, rectified the mistakes, and made a literal translation in the Latin tongue. And as the Gothick types of the first edition published by Junius were preserved at Oxford, he transmitted these collations and translation, together with various observations, to Mr. Edward Lye of Oxford, who had already distinguished himself by his knowledge of the antient Northern languages*. The work was cheerfully undertaken, and faithfully executed, by that judicious scholar; and the third edition made its appearance in the year 1750 printed at the Clarendon press. To the observations of Benzelius, Mr. Lye added many learned remarks upon the text and version, and a Gothick Grammar. This impression is esteemed, by those who have had it in their power to compare it with the original Codex, a most complete work, and redounding greatly to the honour of the editor's accuracy.

The *Codex Argenteus* has given rise to a curious controversy among the learned. In the examination of this manuscript, different persons have thought that they discovered a similitude in the characters to those of the Greek, Latin, Finnish, Runick, Danish, German, or Gothick; each adopting an opinion according to his favourite hypothesis, and refer-

* Hist. Bib. Up.

ring its original to the ancestors of his own country. Nor is ^{CHAP. VI.} this a matter of any surprize; for as the barbarous nations, who were converted to Christianity by the Greeks and Romans, received from them either a new alphabet, or, at least, several new characters; it necessarily follows, that most of the antient letters used by the Goths, Franks, Huns, Sclavonians, and other bordering nations, must bear in many points a great affinity to each other, so that a framer of a fanciful system may readily conceive a resemblance in the whole, which exists only in a few parts. But without entering into an inquiry which may lead us too far, the question concerning the original tongue of the *Codex Argenteus* is reduced to two opinions; the first, that it is written in the same language and character as were used in the fourth century by the Goths of Mæfia, the ancestors of the present Swedes, and is a true copy of the version made by Ulphilas; the second, that it is a translation in the Frankish idiom.

The first opinion is strongly supported by Junius, Stiernhelm, David Wilkins, Benzelius, and Lye; the second, as warmly defended by Hickes, La Croze, Wetstein, and Michaelis. To enter into a discussion of all the arguments advanced on both sides with equal erudition, would require a larger compass than the nature of this work will admit; and to give a partial abstract of them would only invalidate their respective strength. Thus much is certain, that as the reasonings admit not of any positive evidence on either side, but are chiefly drawn from vague conjectures, an unprejudiced inquirer will find it no easy matter to form a decisive and satisfactory judgement. I shall refer, therefore, the inquisitive reader, for further information, to the several writers upon this subject; and shall add only that with respect to my own opinion, after having minutely weighed the arguments

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on each side, I am inclined to assent to the notion that the Codex Argenteus* is a copy of the very original version made by Ulphilas in the Gothick idiom. I was once indeed leaning to the opinion of its being a Frankish version, but was induced to alter my judgement from the arguments of Benzeli-
 lius and Lye, in the Preface to the Oxford edition †, and especially from a very ingenious treatise, published by Ihre ‡, by which it appears, that several specimens of the Ostrogothick tongue have been lately discovered in Italy, which perfectly resembles both the characters and language of the version in the *Codex Argenteus*.

But to which soever side we may incline, as both the Gothick and Frankish idioms were dialects of the Teutonick or German, this manuscript must be considered as the most antient specimen extant of that language. Its antiquity has been unquestionably proved without a dissenting voice. They who conclude it to be the version of Ulphilas, must of course hold it to have been made in the middle of the fourth century; and even those authors § who contend for its being a Frankish translation, allow it to have been copied in the reign of Chilperic between 564 and 587. Its high antiquity is proved, as well from its containing the doxology at the end of the Lord's Prayer, in the thirteenth verse of the sixth chapter of St. Matthew, which is not to be found in any of the most antient versions, as from its interpreting many passages in a similar manner with several of the Latin trans-

* See the several editions of the Codex Argenteus by Junius, Stiernhelm, and Lye. Hickes Gramm. Mæso Gothica in his Thesaurus Ling. Sept. La Croze Diff. Philol. at the end of Chamberlayne's Orat. Dom. p. 136. Wetstein's Proleg. in Nov. Test. sect. 68 to 71. Bib. Up. Hist. p. 116 to 123. Le Long, Bib. Sac. Vol. II. p. 140

and 538.

† Preface to Lye's Sac. Evan. Vers. Goth.

‡ Monumentum veteris linguæ Ostrogothicæ Neapoli haud pridem repertum, &c. In Act. Nov. Reg. Scien. Upsal. Vol. III. See also Dahlin, Vol. I. p. 204.

§ La Croze and Michaelis.

lations

lations which are known to have been antecedent to the vulgate of St. Jerome*.

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Another circumstance worthy of notice, and which enhances its value, is, that it was undoubtedly translated from the original Greek, and not from any of the Latin versions †.

We will not detain the reader with idle conjectures from Watchterus ‡, that this splendid Codex belonged to Alaric the Gothick king of Toulouse; or of Papebroch §, that it was the identical exemplar, which the emperor Valens presented to Fritigern general of the Visigoths established in Mæsia; but shall conclude by observing, that to whomsoever it belonged, or by whomsoever translated, it must be considered as a work of great authority, and a literary treasure of high antiquity ||.

In this library two original manuscripts of the unfortunate Eric XIV. caught my attention. They are in Latin, and were composed in 1566 and 1567, the two years which immediately preceded his deposition. They contain his astronomical, or rather astrological, observations and predictions written with his own hand after his daily examination of the state of the heavenly bodies. The names of his brothers occur frequently, accompanied with great marks of suspicion and distrust, and the deaths of several persons are predicted. Some historical facts are blended occasionally with the observations; and these notes afford a most convincing proof of the distracted state of Eric's mind, at the same time that they discover evident traces of his great learning and extensive

* Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra. Vol. II. p. 142.

† Prefatio in Lye, cap. 2; and Michaelis, Lectures, p. 165.

‡ Bib. Up. Hist. p. 118.

§ Le Long, Vol. II. p. 531.

|| Another fragment of this curious manuscript, containing a few chapters of St.

Paul's Epistle to the Romans, was found at Wolfenbüttele, and is now preserved in the library of that town, where I saw it in 1777. The original letters were partly erased and written upon. See Nonnulla cap. Epist. Pauli ad Rom. published at Brunswick by Fran. Anton. Knittel.

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erudition. Upon examining a few of his notes, I was struck with the resemblance between him and the emperor Rhodolph II. Both these sovereigns began their reigns with the fairest hopes; both were not only the zealous protectors of learning, but even men of letters themselves, as well versed in polite literature as skilled in the abstruser sciences*; both were strongly addicted to judicial astrology, and drawing from the various combinations of the heavenly bodies a presage of their own good or ill fortune, in the most common as well as the most important occurrences of life. Both were jealous, even to misery, of their relations and subjects; and both were at length deposed by their brothers, whom they had driven by their suspicions to conspire against them; with this difference only, that Rhodolph, though compelled to renounce the imperial throne in favour of Matthias, yet remained king of Bohemia until his death, and was not, like Eric, imprisoned and murdered. Rhodolph, indeed, though equally jealous and suspicious, was not guilty of such excesses and cruelties as disgrace the reign of Eric; but both were equally incapable of governing, though endowed with excellent understandings, and acquainted with every branch of science.

There are in this library of Upsala a few manuscripts of the classics of much importance; but the printed editions are numerous and good.

Having desired the librarian to shew me the first book printed in Sweden, he pointed out to me *Dialogus Creaturarum moralizatus*, put forth at Stockholm in 1483, by John

* Celsus says of Eric XIV. "Erat ille plurimis scientiis ita instructus, ut major certe a literis quam a sceptro gloriam reportaverit." Bib. Ups. Hist. p. 4. And Voltaire says as justly of Rhodolph II. "La philosophie qu'il cultivait, lui avait

"appris tout ce qu'on pouvait savoir alors, excepté à remplir ses devoirs de Souverain. Il aimait beaucoup mieux s'instruire avec le fameux Ticho Brahe, que tenir les états de Hongrie et de Bohême. Hist. Univ. c. 147.

Snell, a German printer, invited into Sweden by the administrator Steen Sture. CHAP.
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Before I close my account of the university library, I must take notice of a beautiful cabinet of ebony and cypress, ornamented with precious stones, which was presented, in 1632, by the city of Augsburgh to Gustavus Adolphus. It contains, among other pieces of curiosity, a large agate, two spans long, and one and an half broad. On one part of the stone is painted the Day of Judgement; and on another the Passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea. The figures are done in a very good style of colouring, similar to that used by the German painters immediate successors of Albert Durer. The artist has very ingeniously expressed the clouds and the water by the natural tints and shades of the stone; and indeed they represent, with as much boldness and nature as the finest painting could effect, the wall of water suspended for a passage to the Israelites, and the waves rolling back with fury upon Pharaoh and his host. The artist, whose name was John King, has drawn his own portrait lying at the feet of the pope among the blest in heaven.

I hold myself greatly indebted to the polite attention of Mr. Eric Michael Jant, sub-librarian, who kindly accompanied me to the library, and favoured me in the readiest manner with every possible information. He was so obliging as to present me with several tracts upon the Icelandick, Lapland, and other Northern languages, Celsius's account of the library of Upsala, and other rare dissertations; from which I have drawn considerable intelligence.

I waited, with a letter of recommendation, upon Mr. Bergman, professor of chemistry in the university, whose fame stands high among the learned of all nations, and whose reputation is deservedly established for his useful and accurate researches,

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researches, as well in his own laboratory as in every branch of natural history. The learned professor received me with great politeness and cordiality, and showed me his cabinet, which is particularly rich in Swedish minerals. He obligingly communicated to me much intelligence in a very long and interesting conversation which I had the pleasure of holding with him, and which made me regret that my stay in Upsala was so short, that I could not derive any further information from a person of such general and accurate knowledge.

Upon my return to the inn, I immediately noted down the principal heads of the discourse; the substance whereof I shall here literally transcribe from my journal.

In answer to my inquiries concerning the state of the Swedish mines, he informed me, that there were as well gold and silver, as copper and iron mines: the produce of the first, though very inconsiderable, is remarkable for yielding the native gold in a calcareous matrix. Those of the silver are somewhat more profitable; but the quantity of ore is greatly diminished within these late years. The copper mines of Fahlun are extremely rich; but I could not remember the general state of their produce, and the average proportion of metal drawn from an hundred weight of ore. With respect to the iron mines, the most important of all the native productions of Sweden, those of Danamora are the finest for the quality of the metal, although they are not so rich as several in Lapland; the latter sometimes producing even 90 pounds of pure iron in an hundred weight of ore. The poorest of Danamora yield 30 pounds, and the richest from 60 to 70, in an hundred. The iron of this celebrated mine is in the highest estimation, and is chiefly exported to England for the steel manufactures. The matrix of this ore

is a calcareous earth, a very remarkable circumstance; and which, in conjunction with other causes not yet discovered, is perhaps one occasion of the superior quality of its metal. He added, that in general the iron mines of Sweden are found to run in veins, a few in Lapland excepted, which do not branch out in longitudinal directions, but consist of immense masses of ore*.

I next inquired concerning the quantity of granite rock, which I had observed in different parts of Sweden, as well lying in detached masses, as forming ridges of mountains: to which the professor made answer, that granite is the basis of the country, particularly of the Northern parts; that hills of gravel and sand, and calcareous stone containing petrefactions of shells, are indeed not unfrequent, but generally repose upon granite; that the granite is both red and grey; that the former more readily crumbles and decomposes by the lapse of time; and that almost all the old Runick monuments existing in the country are of the grey species, which is by far the most durable†.

The Royal Society at Upsala is the oldest literary academy of that kind in the North. It took its rise in the year 1720 upon the following occasion. Benzelius‡, librarian to the university, and afterwards archbishop of Upsala, undertook,

* To these may be added the noted mountain Taberg in Smaland, which is one mass of rich iron ore. It is above 400 feet high, and three English miles in circumference. A description of this mountain, and a view of it, sent by Dr. Ascanius to the late Mr. Peter Collinson, was published in the Philosophical Transactions, Vol. XLIX. There is also an account of this most insulated mass of ore in the Acts of the Royal Academy of Stockholm, Vol. XXI. for the year 1760, communicated by M. Tilas. This mine has been worked for 200 years past.

† For some account of professor Bergman's works, see Chapter VIII. of this book.

‡ Eric Benzelius was born at Upsala in 1673, where he began and completed his studies. Having travelled into Germany, England, and France, he returned to Upsala in 1702, and was appointed librarian to the university, an office which he held for 22 years. In 1724 he was nominated professor of divinity; afterwards successively created bishop of Gotheborg, Lindkioping, and archbishop of Upsala. He died in 1743, aged 70. Celsii Bib. Up. Hist. p. 149.

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in conjunction with some other learned men, a review, as well of all books published in Sweden, or by Swedes abroad, as of those works printed in foreign countries, which had any relation to this kingdom. As this publication contained also, beside the mere reviews, a few original acts, it was called *Acta Literaria Sueciæ*; and was carried on upon this plan for ten years. At the end of that period, namely, in 1730, the transactions were no longer confined to a review of books, but consisted entirely of original acts and dissertations; and the society, now patronized by the king, styled itself, in the dedication to his Majesty, *Societas Regia*; and its transactions, which came out annually, *Acta Literaria et Scientiarum Sueciæ*.

In 1740 it assumed the title of *Societas Regia Literaria et Scientiarum Upsaliensis*, adopting the last expression instead of *Sueciæ*, in order to distinguish it from the Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, instituted in 1739, which was denominated *Societas Regia Sueciæ*.

The society continued its publications upon the same plan until 1750, when it ceased; but was again revived in 1773, at which period its transactions were issued under the title of *Nova Acta Regiæ Societatis Scientiarum Upsaliensis*. These acts make their appearance in separate parts, which are not put forth regularly every year, but only occasionally, as there are a sufficient number of dissertations; and as the society, which has no fund, can afford the expence of printing. They are all written in the Latin tongue, and printed in quarto. The original numbers, namely, those issued from 1720 to 1750, are comprized in six volumes. The new acts already published are in four parts: the first appeared in 1773; and the last in 1783.

Many

Many of these dissertations have considerable merit; they treat of a great variety of subjects, as well relative to the history, antiquities, and languages of the North, as to natural history. They contain several papers written by Linnæus and Bergman. CHAP.
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Before I quitted Upsala, I made an excursion to the place where the kings of Sweden were antiently elected; it lies about seven miles from the town, in the middle of a plain called Mora, and is still marked by the remains of several mutilated stones, one whereof is known in Swedish history by the appellation of *Morasteen*, or the Stone of Mora; upon which the sovereigns were enthroned with all due solemnity, and received the homage of their subjects. Their name and the date of the year when this ceremony was performed was at the same time inscribed upon another stone, as a publick memorial of their election. This appears from a very curious certificate * made by a publick notary, who, in 1630, at the request of the archbishop of Upsala, examined the *Morasteen*,

* " In nomini Domine, Amen. Anno a
" Nativitate ejusdem MCDXXX, III Die
" Mensis Maii, hora vesperearum vel quasi,
" Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris
" ac Domini D. Eugenii Papæ IV. anno
" IV. in nova domo Capitulari ante Valvas
" Ecclesiæ Upsalensis sita, in mei notarii
" publici testiumque subscriptorum præsen-
" tia personaliter constitutus venerabilis
" D. Petrus, archiepiscopus ecclesiæ Upsa-
" lensis, nomine & ex parte capituli dictæ
" ecclesiæ Upsal ibidem tunc congregati me
" notarium subscriptum requisivit, ut as-
" sumtis iisdem testibus accederem ad lapi-
" dem vulgariter dictum Moresteen, in quo
" & super quem Reges Sueciæ de novo
" electi statim post eorum electionem con-
" sueverunt ab antiquissimis temporibus sub-
" limari & inthronisari, investigaturus ibi-
" dem annum electionis in Regem Sueciæ
" illustrissimi principis domini Erici Regis
" moderni, ego memoratus notarius infra

" scriptus una cum testibus subscriptis statim
" ad dictum lapidem Morasteen extra civi-
" tatem Upsalensem ad unum milliare in
" plano campo situm accessi et honorabilem
" virum D. Johannem Matthiæ, curatum
" ecclesiæ Danmark, quæ dicto lapidi vicina
" est ecclesia in testem assumpsi, et sculptu-
" ram cujusdam lapidis dicto antiquo lapidi
" Morasteen superimpositi diligenter inspexi
" et per testes infra scriptos inspicere feci sic
" præcise, ut sequitur, in eodem lapide
" insculptum inveni. Anno Domini
" MCCCXCVI. electus est in Regem Sueciæ
" in hoc loco illustris Rex Dominus Ericus
" calendarum Augusti (locus autem pro
" numero calendarum vacuus erat) super
" quibus omnibus et singulis præfatus Pe-
" trus archiepiscopus nomine, quo supra,
" me notarium publicum requisivit ut unum
" vel plura, publicum vel publica super
" præmissis conficerem instrumentum vel in-
" strumenta." Holberg, Vol. I. p. 500.

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to ascertain the year in which Eric of Pomerania was raised to the throne. When I visited the spot, I observed ten stones, the largest whereof was only six spans long, two broad, and two thick, and which tradition reports to be the *Morassteen*. The others are exceedingly small. I could trace upon several the figures of a cross and globe coarsely carved; and upon one, in particular, which was very ancient, the three crowns, the arms of Sweden. I discovered a few traces of inscriptions, seemingly in Gothick characters, but so imperfect, that I did not attempt to decypher * them. A few years ago these remains of Swedish antiquity were covered only with a wooden shed; but they are now preserved in a brick building, constructed at his present majesty's expence in honour of his royal ancestors. An inscription in Swedish upon the inside walls enumerates the names of the several kings who were enthroned upon this spot. They are king Euge, 1060, with whom this custom is said to have taken its rise; king Magnus Ladilas, D. 1, 1276; Magnus Smek, D. 11, 1319; Eric XIII. 1396; Christopher, 1441; Charles VIII. 1448; Christian I. 1457; Steno Sture, administrator of Sweden, 1512.

Olaus Magnus relates, that the *Morassteen* was placed in the midst of twelve other stones in a circle. Camden thus describes a similar monument near the village of Saint Buriens, in Cornwall. "Not far from hence, in a place called "Biscaw-woune, are nineteen stones set in a circle, about "twelve foot distant one from another; and in the center "there stands one much larger than any of the rest. One "may probably conjecture this to have been some trophy of

* Some persons have given an explanation of these inscriptions, such as the before-mentioned one of Eric; also A. D. 1448,

d. 28 Junii electus est nobilis Vir D: us Carolus Canuti, Miles, natione Suecus in Regem Sueciæ. Dahlin, Vol. I. 167.

“ the Romans under the later emperors; or of Athelstan, the
“ Saxon, after he had subdued Cornwall*.” Olaus Wormius, CHAP.
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however, more ingeniously conjectures, from the similitude
of this monument to the *Morasteen*, and others in Sweden
and Denmark, that it was the place where the antient Anglo-
faxon kings were elected and enthroned †.

* Britannia, edit, 1695, p. 6.

† Monumenta Danica, p. 90.

*Botanical garden of Upsala.—Biographical memoirs of Linnæus.*BOOK
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THE botanical garden of Upsala, to which place I had the pleasure of being accompanied by the son of Linnæus, is small, but laid out with judgement; and the collection of plants, particularly exoticks, is numerous. I could not avoid regarding with enthusiasm this spot of ground, rendered celebrated by the residence of Linnæus; of whom it may be said, without exaggeration, that, in the natural history of the globe, he left nothing unexplored.

I flatter myself, that many of the following authentick anecdotes of this great naturalist are entirely new to the English reader *.

Carl Von Linnè, or, as he is more known to foreigners, Linnæus, the eldest son of Nils Linnæus, a Swedish divine, was born on the 24th of May, 1707, at Ræshult, in the province of Smoland. His inclination for the studies, in which he afterwards made so wonderful a progress, commenced at a very early period of his life, and took its rise from the following circumstance. His father used to amuse himself in the gar-

* This account of Linnæus is chiefly extracted from a German translation of his Commemoration-Speech, delivered on the 5th of December, 1778, by Dr. Bæck, in the king's presence, before the Royal Academy of Sciences; and from anecdotes of his life by Fabricius. See Gedächtnitzrede Auf den Carl von Linnè, &c. von A. Bæck; and Einige nachere Umstände aus dem Leben des Ritters von Linnè; Von Johan Christian Fabricius, in the Deutsches

Museum, for May and July, 1780.—Fabricius, the author of this account, was the disciple of Linnæus: he is now professor of œconomy and natural history in the university of Kiel; and may be justly called the first entomologist in Europe. He has distinguished himself, among other publications, by the following works: Reise nach Norwegen.—Systema Entomologiæ.—Genera Insectorum.—Philosophia Entomologica.—Species Insectorum.

den of his parsonage with the cultivation of plants and flow-
 ers. Linnæus, while an infant, was soon led to take a share
 in this entertainment; and, before he was scarcely able to
 walk, expressed extreme satisfaction when he was permitted
 to accompany him into the garden. As his strength in-
 creased, he delighted in digging and planting; and after-
 wards obtained for his own use a small portion of ground,
 which was called Charles's garden. He soon learnt to dis-
 tinguish the different flowers; and, before he had attained
 the tenth year of his age, made small excursions into the
 neighbourhood of Ræshult, and brought many indigenous
 plants into his little garden.

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Being sent, in 1717, to school at Wexio, under the tuition
 of Lanarius, by whom he was indulged with the permission
 of continuing his excursions, he passed his whole time in
 collecting plants, talking of them, and making himself ac-
 quainted with their names and qualities. He was so absorbed
 in this favourite pursuit as totally to disregard his other stu-
 dies; and made such an inconsiderable progress, that, upon
 his removal, in 1724, to the *gymnasium* in the same town,
 his new master repeatedly complained of his idleness. Urged
 by these remonstrances, his father conceived his son to have
 no taste for literature, and proposed to bind him apprentice to
 a shoe-maker*; and this destination would have taken place,
 if a neighbouring physician, whose name was Rothman†,
 struck with the boy's great genius, had not predicted, that he
 would, in time, become deeply skilled in a science, to which
 he seemed naturally inclined. This sagacious observer, hav-
 ing prevailed upon the father of Linnæus to continue his
 son's education, took the boy into his house, supplied him
 with botanical books, and instructed him in the first rudi-

* Fabricius.

† Bæck.

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ments of physick, in which he soon made a considerable progress. When his father had assented to this advice, he had designed him for the church *; and was not, without great difficulty, induced to agree that he should apply himself to the study of botany and physick.

In 1717 he was sent to the university of Lund, where he acquired, under the celebrated Stobæus, the first systematick principles of natural history. Being lodged in that professor's house, he enjoyed many opportunities of improvement; and particularly from a curious collection of fossils, shells, birds, and plants. At this place he began to form an *herbarium*, collecting plants from all quarters, making repeated observations upon them, and comparing them with the descriptions of Tournefort †, whose works he had received as a present from Dr. Rothman ‡.

During his residence at Lund, he prosecuted his studies with such unremitted attention, that he frequently continued them during great part of the night, in order to enjoy the use of several books which he secretly obtained from the professor's library. Once in particular, Stobæus suspecting that he had company at a very late hour, stole unobserved into his apartment, and was astonished at finding him employed in consulting the works of those great botanists, Cæsalpinus, Bauhin, and Tournefort. Pleased with this instance of his indefatigable zeal for science, the professor allowed him unrestrained access to his library and collections, and readily assisted him with advice and information.

Linnæus did not confine himself to botany, but turned also his attention to the inferior orders of the animal kingdom;

* His mother was at first so chagrined that her eldest son declined entering into orders, that she would not even permit her second son to set his foot in the garden. This brother, whose name is Samuel, is still living: he is a clergyman in the province of

Smoland, and, on account of his skill in the management of bees, is known by the name of Bi-Kung, or the Bee-King.

† Institutiones rei herbariæ.

‡ Back.

a branch of knowledge in which he eminently excelled, and which he was led to prosecute from a circumstance that would have damped the ardour of a less zealous inquirer. In endeavouring to form a collection of insects, he was stung by the *Furia Infernalis* * in so terrible a manner, that his life was endangered †. This event incited his researches to discover the nature and qualities of that venomous worm; which led him to develop and explain those numerous tribes of insects ‡ and worms, that had been but imperfectly described by preceding naturalists; and afterwards to throw new light upon the whole animal kingdom.

In 1728 he was removed to the university of Upsala; where his narrow circumstances involved him at first in distresses unfriendly to the pursuits of science, but which did

* The effects of the *Furia Infernalis* are thus described by Dr. Pulteney, from a Dissertation *De Miraculis Insectorum*, in the third volume of the *Amœnitates Academicæ*. "In Finland, Bothnia, and the northern provinces of Sweden, it was not unfrequently that people were seized with a pungent pain, confined to a point, in the hand, or other exposed part of the body, which presently increased to a most excruciating degree, and hath sometimes been suddenly fatal. This disorder was more particularly observed in Finland, especially about boggy and marshy places, and always in autumn. At length it was discovered, that this pain instantly succeeded somewhat that dropped out of the air, and in a moment penetrated and buried itself in the flesh. The Finlanders had tried variety of applications to no purpose, until at length a poultice of curds, or cheese, was found the most effectual in easing the pain; and the event confirmed, that the insect was allured by this application to leave the flesh; as on its removal, this worm, no longer than the sixth of an inch, was found in it, and thus the cause of this painful disease explained. Linnæus himself once suffered from this animal the

"effect here spoken of: but we owe the complete history of it and its place in the System, to Dr. Solander, who gave it in to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Upsal. (Nov. Ac. V. I.) This worm stands in the System under the name of *Furia Infernalis*, p. 1325; but by what means this creature is raised into the air, is at yet unknown." General View of the Writings of Linnæus, p. 259.

† Bæck.

‡ "No part of the system of nature," writes Dr. Pulteney, "has undergone a greater change than this class; neither does our author stand more unrivalled, than in the excellent arrangement he has given to this branch of natural history; which, before his time, was nearly without method." p. 101.

And again, "The knowledge of insects may be said to be the last branch of natural history that raised its head; notwithstanding which, it has of late attained a high degree of perfection: nor can it be too much to attribute this to the excellent arrangement of Linnæus, under whose auspices it has extended itself beyond all other parts of zoology." p. 351.

not,

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not, however, obstruct his usual exertions. His poverty is said to have been so great, that he frequently wanted the common necessaries of life; and was even accustomed to wear the cast-off shoes of his fellow students, which he mended with pasteboard for his own use*.

From this state of penury, when he had no prospect of the smallest assistance either from his family or friends, he was suddenly relieved by the learned Olaus Celsius, professor of divinity, and restorer of natural history in Sweden, whose patronage he casually acquired in the following manner: Celsius, having frequently noticed him making observations in the botanical garden, was astonished at his proficiency in botany, the smallest knowledge of which was at that time esteemed a rare qualification in Sweden; and being informed of his distressed situation, immediately received him into his house, admitted him to his table, gave him access to his library, and engaged his assistance in completing his *Hierobotanicon*, a work ascertaining the plants mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. The favours of this respectable patron, conferred in such extreme necessity, he always remembered and acknowledged with the strongest expressions of reverence and gratitude.

Soon afterwards he attracted the notice, and obtained the patronage, of Olaus Rudbeck professor of physick and botany, on the following occasion. An academical dissertation, *De Nuptiis arborum*†, being read in the publick schools, Linnæus wrote upon it some observations, wherein he introduced several remarks upon the generation of plants, to which he had particularly turned his attention. These observations

* Fabricius.

† The theses is styled *Γαμος ὄρων*, sive de Nuptiis Arborum de quibus Dissertationem

Philologico-criticam publico bonorum examini submittit Petrus Ulga. 23 Dec. 1729.

fell into the hands of Olaus Rudbeck, who was so struck with their sagacity and justness, as immediately to commence an acquaintance with the author: his abilities and knowledge being developed upon a nearer intimacy, the professor appointed him tutor to his sons, in some measure directed his studies; and thought him sufficiently qualified, though only in the 23d year of his age, to read occasional lectures in the botanical garden, by which means he obtained a small income. At this period Linnæus passed his days in herboring and giving lectures; and employed great part of the night in laying the foundation of the new system, which he had already planned. About this period he began to arrange his *Bibliotheca Botanica*, his *classes* and *genera plantarum*; from whence we may collect how early he had fixed the principles of that method, which he afterwards carried to such perfection.

His knowledge was considerably improved by a journey into Lapland in 1731, to which, at the recommendation of Rudbeck and Celsius, he was deputed by the Royal Society of Sciences at Upsala, in order to investigate the natural history of that unknown region: but as he received only a gratuity of about £8 towards defraying his expences, he was obliged to travel almost the whole way on foot, which he performed with great alacrity and spirit. He commenced this expedition on the 11th of May, 1732; stayed some time at the mines of Fahlun; visited various parts of Lapland; underwent many hardships; escaped imminent perils; and returned to Upsala in the month of October of the following year, after having traversed near 4000 miles*.

During his tour he transmitted to the Royal Society of Sciences a *Florula Lapponica*, which was printed in their acts, and was

* Bæck.

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VII. his first publication : in this catalogue of Lapland plants,
he disposed them according to the system afterwards called
the Sexual.

Soon after his return he continued his lectures upon botany ; and delivered others also upon mineralogy and the art of assaying metals, which were the first on that subject ever given at Upsala, and from which he acquired great applause. But being not entitled from his standing in the university to read lectures, a formal complaint was lodged against him by professor Rosen, physician to the king ; and he had the mortification to receive an express prohibition from the academical consistory. Linnæus, who began to draw a comfortable subsistence from these lectures, and saw no immediate means of maintaining himself, was so exasperated at this proceeding, that he drew his sword upon the professor, and might have proceeded to violence if he had not been prevented. In consequence of this outrage, he would undoubtedly have been expelled from the university, if his patron, Olaus Celsius, had not compromised the affair*.

In this juncture he was appointed to accompany the sons of Baron Reuterholm into Dalecarlia and Norway. During this tour he improved his knowledge of mineralogy, by visiting various mines and forges ; and particularly at Fahlun, where he read lectures upon fossils and the art of assaying, which were much frequented : at the same time he obtained the friendship of Dr. More, the physician of the place, to whose daughter he betrothed himself. It being the custom at that time to take a degree in some foreign university, and the situation of Linnæus not being adequate to such an expence, the young lady presented him with an hundred ducats = about £40. to take his doc-

* Fabricius.

tor's degree at Harderwick in Guelderland *. With this view CHAP.
VII. he commenced his journey in 1735, and proceeded to Copenhagen and Hamburgh, where he continued much longer than he had at first intended. At Hamburgh he gave a proof of his accurate knowledge in natural history, by discovering, that a celebrated snake with seven heads, belonging to the burgomaster Spreckelsen, and which had been long esteemed a great wonder, was a mere imposition. Upon the first inspection, our naturalist perceived that the fix heads, notwithstanding the art with which they were joined together, were jaws of weasels covered with the skin of snakes †.

Linnæus, to whom 100 ducats appeared an immense sum, thought his riches inexhaustible; and, remaining for a considerable time at Hamburgh, where he was pleased with his situation, he found himself, upon his arrival in Holland, reduced to extreme necessity, and unable to disburse the expence of a doctor's degree; he therefore applied by letter to Boerhaave, acquainting him that he was a person who had devoted himself to the study of botany, but who laboured under the most severe distresses. Boerhaave, the friend and protector of science, received Linnæus in his garden: among other topicks of conversation, he pointed out the *Cratægus Aria*, and demanded, whether he had ever observed that plant; adding, that it had not yet been described by any writer? Linnæus answered, that it was a native of Sweden, and described by Vaillant. Boerhaave supported the contrary; and, convinced of the justness of his assertion, because he had himself superintended the publication of Vaillant's work, immediately brought the book to Linnæus; who, without hesitation, referred to the description, which accurately cor-

* Fabricius.

factitious monster in Seba's Museum, Vol. I.

† The reader will find a plate of this Table 102.

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responded with the plant in question *. From this specimen of his accurate knowledge in botany, Boerhaave became his patron, and recommended him to the protection of Mr. Clifford, by whom he was appointed superintendent of a botanical garden †, lately formed at a very extraordinary expence. In this new situation, highly adapted to his circumstances and genius, he received a salary of a ducat ‡ per day, and what was no less agreeable, he had the inspection of a garden rich in the choicest plants; and was not confined to any expence for obtaining every species of exoticks, and procuring the works of the most eminent botanical authors. In addition also to these favourable opportunities of increasing his knowledge, he travelled, at the charge of Mr. Clifford, into England and France. During only two years residence with Mr. Clifford, he gave to the publick many works § in various branches of natural history, which raised his reputation very high in Europe, and in which he discovered an amazing sagacity in methodizing and classing, with the nicest discrimination, the various productions, in the three kingdoms of nature. In these publications he ventured, young and unknown as he was, to commit his new system to the world, which,

* Fabricius.

† At Hartcamp, about three miles from Harlem.

‡ About 8s. 6d.

§ *Systema Naturæ*, comprized, as Dr. Pulteney says, in twelve pages, and is the outlines of the succeeding editions—*Fundamenta Botanica*—*Bibliotheca Botanica*—*Musa Cliffortiana*—*Genera Plantarum*—*Viridarium Cliffortianum*—*Methodus Sexualis*—*Flora Lapponica*—*Critica Botanica*—*Hortus Cliffortianus*—*Artedi Ichthyologia*—*Classes Plantarum*. “We cannot sufficiently,” says Dr. Bæck, with justness, “wonder how, within so short a space as two years, during which period he was so constantly occupied in arranging the plants

“of Clifford’s garden according to his system, and was so continually interrupted by foreign visitors, Linnæus could also find time to put forth so many writings, each of which would have been sufficient to have established the reputation of a man of learning; and these writings founded upon his own discoveries, and tending to give a new form to a whole science. The materials of some, indeed, had been collected and digested in Sweden; but it is a fact scarcely credible, that the *Hortus Cliffortianus*, a work which contains so much knowledge, should have been written and printed in less than nine months.” For an account of these various publications see Pulteney, p. 16 to 30.

undefended

undefended by its author, and supported only by its intrinsic merit, conquered all opposition from men of the first abilities and decided character*. CHAP. VII.

His residence in Holland, which had hitherto contributed in so essential a manner to his rise and improvement, was at length embittered by a very dangerous disorder that terminated in an ague. He became suddenly pensive, discontented, expressed an insurmountable desire to fulfil his matrimonial engagements; and was impatient to show himself in Sweden, where he flattered himself with the prospect of a most honourable reception.

Having declined many offers of promotion in Holland, he quitted that country in the spring of 1738; and, after passing a short time at Patis, arrived at Stockholm in the month of September; where he settled as a physician, and married in the following year the lady to whom he had betrothed himself at Fahlun.

Linnaeus had returned to his native country full of the most sanguine expectations that his merit would be immediately recognized; but, to use his biographer's† expressions, "he was astonished to find that he was considered more as a stranger among his countrymen than among foreigners." He was so mortified at this disappointment, and at the small degree of practice which he at first obtained, that he had once resolved to accept the offers of his patrons in Holland; or to settle at Gottingen, at the earnest solicitation of the celebrated

* Among others, the celebrated Delle-
nius, though he candidly acknowledged the
merits of the Linnaean system, confessed that
he was too far advanced in life to study a
new arrangement. The same reasons may
account for the coolness of reception he met
with from Sir Hans Sloane, notwithstanding

the following letter of recommendation
written by Boerhaave: "*Linnaeus, qui has
tibi dabit literas, est unice dignus te vi-
dere, unice dignus a te videri, qui vos vi-
debit simul, videbit hominum par, cui simile
vix dabit orbis.*" See Pulteney, p. 12.
† Bæck.

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Haller. But although his acknowledged merit, and uncommon reputation, soon secured to him the patronage of several illustrious personages, yet he paid the usual tax of genius, by experiencing a considerable degree of envy and opposition; and though by these means he was at first involved in some difficulties, only a short period elapsed before he acquired an extensive practice. His most considerable and zealous patron was count Tessin, the first minister, whose collection he afterwards described in his *Museum Tessinianum*.

By the interest of that nobleman he obtained, in the beginning of 1739, the office of physician to the fleet; and a stipend from the states for reading lectures in mineralogy upon the collection of fossils belonging to the board of mines*. Count Tessin also recommended him in such strong terms to their Swedish majesties, that they honoured him with their patronage. Under his direction the king formed a collection of quadrupeds, birds, fishes, and serpents, at Ulricisal; and the queen of insects and shells at Drottningholm; both of which have been accurately described by Linnæus himself.

During his residence at Stockholm, he assisted, as I have before observed, in founding a literary society, which was afterwards called the Royal Academy of Sciences, and of which he was appointed the first president.

In 1741 he at length obtained the object of his warmest ambition, the professorship of botany in the university of Upsala. Upon the death of Roberg, professor of practical medicine and anatomy, Linnæus was appointed to fill his chair; which he changed, in 1742, with professor Rosen, for that of botany: he was at the same time appointed to superintend the physick-garden; and undertook to read lectures in bo-

* Back.

tany,

tany, natural history, diateticks, on the knowledge of disorders, and the *materia medica*. CHAP. VII.

From this period he passed the remaining part of his life almost uniformly at Upsala.

He turned the first objects of his attention and care to the regulation and improvement of the botanical garden; which, at the time of his appointment to the professorship, scarcely contained 40. exoticks; but produced in 1748, notwithstanding the obstructions arising from the severity of the climate, 1100. species, exclusive of indigenous plants and varieties. His own collection of natural history was rich only in plants; a circumstance chiefly owing to the number of quadrupeds, shells, and insects, which he presented to their majesties for their cabinets at Ulricfal and Drottningholm. His herbarium was highly valuable, from the number and arrangement of the specimens.

By his incomparable lectures he raised the university to the highest repute, and induced many foreigners to resort to Upsala. He was always attended by a numerous audience; and his great art was not only in satisfying the curiosity, but in gaining the affection and esteem of the students. His lectures were distinguished by the conciseness and precision so conspicuous in his works; and yet were delivered with a spirit and animation which irresistibly caught the attention of his hearers; for he spoke with a persuasion which was inspired by his deep insight, his just conceptions, and his zealous ardour for the knowledge of nature.*.

He

* Bæck and Fabricius. Nothing can mark the philosopher's passion for natural history more than these expressions in a letter to Mr. Pennant on the following occasion. Having received the first notice of the *Anomia retusa* Syst. Nat. 1151. N° 225. being found in a recent state from Mr. Pennant, who observed one adhering to a sea-plant drawn out of the Norwegian seas, he wrote to him, "Pro gaudio exultans quod detexeras concham anomiam a nullo mortalium antea visam, quam que"

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He diffused a sudden spirit of inquiry; and kindled among his students a new zeal for the study of natural history. During the first years of his residence at Upsala, he gave publick herborising lectures in spring and summer, in the neighbourhood of that town. In these botanical excursions he was attended with a band of trumpets and French-horns, and sallied out at the head of 200 or 300 students, divided into detached companies. When Linnæus was inclined to explain any curious plant, bird, or insect, which had either fallen under his own notice, or was brought to him by any of the students, the stragglers were called together by the sound of musick, and crouding round their master listened in respectful silence while he offered his observations*.

His reputation was now so widely spread in foreign countries, that he received the most flattering invitations to Petersburg, to Gottingen, and particularly to Madrid, where he was offered by the king of Spain a very considerable stipend†,

“que facem accenderas scientia naturali luculentissimam in deperditis huc usque concharum generibus. De hac conchâ die noctuque cogito; de eo loquor hodiè; noctu de eo somnio.” Dec. 3, 1756.

In another letter to our English zoologist he thus acknowledges a present of his Synopsis of Quadrupeds, and candidly allows the merit of the work, although it differed in some respect from his own method of classing animals. “Diu audiui D. Troill secum adduxisse dona tua, quæ avidissime expectavi. Redux tandem pridie ad nos accessit, et mihi obtulit Synopsin tuam of Quadrupeds et Zoologiam Indicam. Pro singulis grates reddo quas unquam possum calidissimas. Synopsin tuam legam et relegam millies. Multa in eo occurrunt lectu mihi jucundissima, et maxime utilia quæ in succum et sanguinem.—Perlecto hoc opere multa a te quæram nec unquam me ingratum sentias.—Non

“de methodo disputabo; mihi perinde erit utrum naturæ cultor sit Lutheranus, Calvinianus, Judaicus, aut Mahometanus, unice notitiam specierum quæram.—O utinam viderem reliqua tua opera imprimis de avibus, quam multa inde addiscerem quæ etiamnum me fugiunt.—Tua *Indiana Zoology* perpulchra erat; pulcherri-mæ figuræ rarissimarum certe avium; descriptiones etiam exactissimæ.—Vale plura proxime. Upsalæ, 1773, d. 2. Maii.”

The publick will soon have fresh obligations to Mr. Pennant, for his long expected work *The Arctick Zoology*.

* I am indebted to Sir John Cullum for this anecdote, who received it from Dr. Solander; and it has been since confirmed to me by Mr. Dryander, a Swedish gentleman, who frequently attended these botanical excursions.

† A pension of 2000 pistoles. Pulteney, p. 35.

the

the rank of nobility, and the toleration of his religion. But CHAP.
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His services in promoting every branch of natural history were acknowledged in the fullest manner, and every assistance afforded to his endeavours to improve and diffuse his favourite science. A new house was raised for him, at the publick expence, close to the physick-garden: he was occasionally deputed by the states to make excursions into various parts of Sweden, with a view to the advancement of natural history. For this purpose, he, at different times, visited the Islands of Gothland and Oeland, the provinces of Skone and West Gothland; and communicated to the publick, in his native language, the Itineraries of his Travels, which are said to be replete with curious and philosophical observations, the general purport of which was principally directed in adapting natural history to œconomical uses. Many of his scholars* were also, under his auspices, dispatched to various parts of the world, at the expence of the publick, or of particular societies; and they all seem to have caught from their beloved master a spirit of emulation and zeal for science: the communications which he received from their unremitted labours furnished him with such information as enabled his comprehensive mind to appropriate, as it were, their discoveries, and to “exemplify in a more perfect and detailed manner his system of nature†.”

* Kalm journeyed to North America; Hæsselquist to Smyrna, Egypt, and Palestine; Ternström, Tonerius, and Osbeck, to China; Rolander to Surinam; Læfving to Spain and North America; Forkæl to Arabia; Thunberg to the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, and Japan; Sparman to the Cape and South Seas; and above all the much to be regretted Dr. Solander round the world.
† Pulteney, p. 34.

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Thus his genius may be said to have diffused itself through the most distant regions of the globe; and his spirit still continues to animate the zealous disciples of the Linnæan school.

The following circumstances, relative to his decease, are related by his Swedish biographer*.

In May, 1774, while he was reading lectures in the botanical garden, he was seized with an apoplectick stroke; that was followed by a debility which he himself pronounced the forerunner of death. His limbs were affected to such a degree, that he could not be moved without extreme pain and difficulty. In autumn, however, he was somewhat recovered, which he, in the enthusiasm of science, imputed to a present of several hundred rare plants, sent to him by the king. These plants, brought from Surinam by Dahlberg, a Swedish officer, were so well preserved in spirits, that their flowers, fruit, and leaves, were distinctly preserved. He found great amusement and consolation in arranging and publishing a short description of them, under the title of *Plantæ Surinamenses*, which was his last performance. In June, 1776, he was afflicted with a second stroke of apoplexy, which reduced him to so weak a state, that, to use his own expressions in his Journal, "Linnæus limps, can hardly move, speaks unintelligibly, and can scarcely write." In the same year a paralytick stroke deprived him of the use of his right side, and confined him wholly to his bed. His strength gradually forsook him; his mental faculties were impaired; and an ague, attended by a dropfy, brought on a tranquil dissolution on the 10th of January, 1778, in the 71st year of his age.

His remains were interred in the cathedral of Upsala, with all the funeral honours which gratitude and respect could

* Back.

inspire. The king of Sweden ordered a medal to be struck expressive of the dejection of science upon the decease of Linnæus, and a monument to be erected over his ashes : his majesty also attended the meeting of the Academy of Sciences, in which his commemoration speech was delivered ; and, as a still higher tribute to his memory, lamented, in a speech from the throne to the diet of 1778, the irretrievable loss which Sweden had suffered from his death *.

The most trifling anecdotes relative to the person and character of such eminent men as Linnæus cannot fail of being particularly interesting ; and our curiosity in these respects will be highly gratified by the following detail of a naturalist † personally acquainted with him ; who represents him chiefly in private and domestick scenes, which, though they place every character in the truest light, yet too often escape the notice of biographers.

“ I had the good fortune of enjoying the instructions, protection, and familiar acquaintance of Linnæus, from 1762 to 1764. No day passed in which I did not see him ; none in which I did not attend his lectures, or converse with him in the most friendly manner. In summer I followed him into the country, accompanied by two friends, Kuhn and Zoega, who were foreigners as well as myself : in winter we took up our abode opposite to his house at Upsala ; where he visited us almost every day without form, in his red night-gown and green cap lined with fur, and with his pipe in his hand. His conversation was lively and agreeable ; he would amuse us with many anecdotes relative to the naturalists both native and foreign, whom he had formerly known ; he would frequently resolve difficulties which occurred to us in the progress of our studies,

* Pulteney, p. 212.

† Fabricius.

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“ and often favoured us with occasional instructions. During
 “ our unrestrained intercourse, he would frequently burst into
 “ loud fits of laughter; his countenance would brighten with
 “ pleasure; and his mind would expand with a degree of
 “ openness and freedom, which showed his natural inclina-
 “ tion to sociableness and friendship. Not less joyous was our
 “ country life. We dwelled in a peasant's cottage at a small
 “ distance from his habitation. Linnæus in summer gene-
 “ rally rose at four*; would frequently call upon us at six;
 “ and, having breakfasted, would read lectures upon the *Or-
 “ dines naturales plantarum* until ten. Then we attended
 “ him to the neighbouring rocks, where he had sufficient
 “ employment in describing and detailing their different pro-
 “ ductions till mid-day, the usual hour of his dinner; after
 “ which we repaired to his house, and passed the evening in
 “ his company.

“ Every Sunday we received a visit from Linnæus and his
 “ whole family; on which occasion we always provided a
 “ peasant who played upon a kind of violin, and danced in
 “ the barn with infinite satisfaction. In truth, though our
 “ ball was not very splendid, our society not numerous, our
 “ music not super-excellent, our minuets and Polish dances
 “ not diversified, yet we amused ourselves not a little. The
 “ old man, who generally sat smoking his pipe with my
 “ friend Zoega, and looked on, would now and then start up
 “ and join himself in a Polish dance, in which he far sur-
 “ passed the youngest of the company. Those days and
 “ hours will never be forgotten by me, but will always be
 “ recollected with pleasure.”

* “ In summer,” says Dr. Bæck, “ he “ ceived himself fatigued with too much
 “ usually slept only from 10 to 3; and in “ application, he quitted his study, and re-
 “ winter from 9 to 6. Whenever he per- “ lieved himself with society.”

“ Linnæus

“ Linnæus was small in stature, and appeared still shorter
 “ from a habit of stooping. He was thin, but well made ;
 “ and when I knew him, age had already begun to mark his
 “ forehead with wrinkles. His countenance was open ; al-
 “ most always serene ; and his eyes were the most expres-
 “ sive I ever beheld : they were small indeed, but lively and
 “ piercing beyond description ; I do not recollect their co-
 “ lour, but their glances would now and then penetrate and
 “ read my very soul. The engraving prefixed to the *Species*
 “ *Plantarum* is a very striking resemblance of him. His
 “ mind was noble ; his understanding was quick and acute.
 “ His great pre-eminence consisted in the regular connection
 “ of his ideas ; and all his words and actions were orderly and
 “ systematick. In his youth his memory was strong, but be-
 “ gan to fail at a very early period of his life. I perceived
 “ several instances of his not being able to remember the
 “ names of his nearest acquaintance ; and once in particular
 “ found him in great distress, having just written a letter to
 “ his father-in-law, whose name he had absolutely forgotten.

“ His heart was open to every impression of joy ; he
 “ loved pleasantry, and was fond of society ; an excellent
 “ companion ; cheerful and agreeable in his conversation ;
 “ of fanciful wit ; and possessed a happy talent of introduc-
 “ ing and applying apposite anecdotes. His passions were
 “ strong and violent ; he was hasty and cholerick, but soon
 “ appeased. His friendships were warm and unalterable,
 “ and more particularly to his favourite scholars ; his attach-
 “ ment was always founded upon a love of science ; he was
 “ so fortunate as to experience few instances of ingratitude ;
 “ and it is well known with what zeal his disciples returned
 “ his friendship, and how frequently they engaged in his
 “ defence.

“ Though

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“ Though his love of fame was boundless, and his common
 “ adage, *Famam extendere factis*, the true image of his soul,
 “ yet this ambition had no other object than literary emi-
 “ nence ; and never degenerated into an offensive and unso-
 “ cial pride. Nor was the rank, to which he had been raised
 “ by the favour of his sovereign, any otherwise agreeable to
 “ him than as a mark of his high reputation in science. In
 “ matters relative to botany he could not easily brook any
 “ contradiction : he thankfully, indeed, received and used
 “ the annotations of his friends for the improvement of his
 “ works ; but he disdained the attacks of his opponents, and,
 “ by never replying, consigned them to that oblivion in
 “ which they have long been buried. He was himself li-
 “ beral in his encomiums, and not displeased with being ad-
 “ mired, which seems to have been his principal foible : his
 “ love of praise, however, was founded on the strong per-
 “ ception of his own excellence ; on his acknowledged im-
 “ provements of natural history ; and upon the consciof-
 “ ness of being esteemed the first systematick writer of the
 “ age. Tournefort, as he often assured me, he had looked
 “ up to from his youth as the master whom he had
 “ proposed to imitate, and whom he soon surpassed in a very
 “ considerable degree.

“ His way of life was moderate and parsimonious ; and
 “ he has been accused of covetousness *. I cannot, however,
 “ but hold him in some measure excused, if he placed too
 “ high a value upon money, the want of which he had so
 “ long and so severely experienced. It may also be urged in

* It is a sufficient refutation of the charge
 of avarice : that “ though he was extremely
 “ sparing in his own private expences ; yet
 “ he was liberal in entertaining his friends,

“ and in acts of charity ; and that he always
 “ remitted to poor students what was due
 “ to him for attending his lectures.”
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“ his

“ his defence, that the habits of extreme parsimony, which
 “ he had contracted under the most pressing necessities, ad-
 “ hered to him afterwards ; and could not be shaken off even
 “ in times of affluence. I never, however, perceived that
 “ his frugality degenerated into sordid avarice ; and I can
 “ alledge my own example as an instance to the contrary. He
 “ refused in so peremptory a manner to accept the acknow-
 “ ledgement due to him for reading lectures to us during
 “ the whole summer, that we were obliged (after having in
 “ vain endeavoured to force it upon him) to leave it secretly
 “ behind us.”

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To the honour of his country and the present age, Linnæus reaped the advantage of his superior genius by the unsolicited accumulation of wealth and honours. In 1753 he was created a knight of the Polar-star, and ennobled in 1756.

His writings brought him, on account of their number, no inconsiderable emolument* ; while his salary as professor, his practice as a physician, and the presents which he occasionally received from his scholars, rendered him easy and independent. He purchased in the neighbourhood of Upsala two estates, at Hammarby and at Sœfja, at the former of which he built a villa ; and at his decease bequeathed an ample provision to his widow and children. He left four daughters and one son, Charles Linnæus, who succeeded him in the professorship, and died on the first of November, 1783.

The name of Linnæus may be classed amongst those of Newton, Boyle, Locke, Haller, Euler, and other great philosophers, who were friends to religion : he always testified in his conversations, writings, and actions, the highest reverence for the Supreme Being ; and was so strongly im-

* A ducat, or about 9s. each sheet. Fabricius.

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pressed with the idea of omnipresence, that he wrote over the door of his study : *Innocui vivite, numen adest.*

The great merits of Linnæus, as a naturalist, are to be estimated from the rude state in which he found all the branches of natural history, and the perfection to which he carried them; in drawing order from confusion, and perspicuity from darkness: his understanding, comprehensive, yet accurate, was capable of combining and arranging an almost infinite variety of objects, which the magnitude of the greatest could not fatigue, nor the insignificance of the smallest elude. The mere catalogue of his works would make an ordinary pamphlet; and it would require no small volume to trace even the outlines of his system, now distinguished by the appellation of Linnæan, which new methodized and reformed the whole compass of natural history. In these extensive and various pursuits, we know not which to admire most, his intimate knowledge, his fertility of invention, his indefatigable industry, his scientific arrangement, or that wonderful exactness in discriminating, where the minutest shades of difference are scarcely perceptible.

The reader, who is desirous of further intelligence concerning this great naturalist, will find his curiosity amply gratified from the perusal of Dr. Pulteney's "General View of the Writings of Linnæus." In that excellent publication the ingenious author has detailed a list of his numerous works, methodically classed according to the æra of their appearance; to which is subjoined a critical account of their general contents. He has also traced the progress, and laid open the leading principles of the Linnæan system, with a masterly precision and accuracy, which could only be derived from the most perfect knowledge of the subject.

C H A P. VIII.

Remarks on the writings of Wallerius, Cronstedt, and Bergman.—Analysis of the Sciagraphia Mineralis.

THE contents of this chapter being at my request communicated to me by Dr. Pulteney, I claim no other merit than that of giving it to the publick. CHAP.
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“ The publick revenue and wealth of Sweden being
 “ intimately connected with the mines, particularly those
 “ of iron, mineralogy has been eminently encouraged and
 “ cultivated in that kingdom. To this cause we may, in
 “ a great measure, attribute the acknowledged skill of the
 “ Swedish chymists, as superior to those of many other na-
 “ tions: for how much soever we owe to the labours of Pott
 “ and Margraaff, and several other Germans, it is to the
 “ Swedes that we are indebted for the first rational system of
 “ mineralogy. Among those who principally taught the
 “ method of arranging these unorganized bodies, we must
 “ not omit the great Linnæus: he laid the basis of what
 “ may be called the classical foundation of his system, in the
 “ chymical analysis; having early distributed the earths into
 “ Calcareous, Vitrescent, and Apyrous, and established his
 “ orders and genera, on figure, colour, hardness, and other
 “ sensible qualities. This system was, in a great measure,
 “ adopted by Wallerius. But it is to Cronstedt that we owe
 “ the full and more precise disposition of these subjects, ac-
 “ cording to their constituent parts and principles: and it
 “ must be allowed, that the discoveries of the Swedish mine-
 “ ralogists and chymists have, within a few years, greatly ad-
 “ vanced this branch of knowledge.

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“ Walle-

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“ Wallerius published at Stockholm, in 1747, the first
 “ sketch of his system in the Swedish tongue ; and he has
 “ preserved nearly the same arrangement in the subsequent
 “ editions of 1754 and 1778. In the following year he
 “ gave to the world a dissertation ‘ On the Nature and Ori-
 “ gin of Nitre ;’ and in 1751, after he had been nominated
 “ professor of chymistry, metallurgy, and pharmacy, an aca-
 “ demical dissertation ‘ On the principles of Vegetation.’
 “ Soon after his appointment to the professorship, he printed
 “ in his native language, ‘ An Epistle on the true Nature,
 “ Utility, and Excellence of Chymistry.’ In the next
 “ year, additional to his tract on Vegetation, he published
 “ another, relative to ‘ The Methods and Use of rendering
 “ Seeds fertile, by washing or infusing them for a certain
 “ Time in various Kinds of Liquors :’ and in the result he
 “ gives it as his opinion, that such methods are generally
 “ hazardous.

“ In the same year Wallerius put forth, in the 7th vo-
 “ lume of the *Acta Academiæ Naturæ Curiosorum*, a paper
 “ ‘ On the best Method of making Tar from the Pine and
 “ Fir Trees ;’ in which he takes occasion to treat of the
 “ principles of tar-water, the medicinal fame whereof had,
 “ by means of the Bishop of Cloyne’s *Siris*, spread over all
 “ Europe.

“ In the same acts he has written ‘ On the stellated or ar-
 “ borescent appearance on the *Regulus Antimonii* ;’ and gives
 “ directions to prepare the regulus so as to succeed in ren-
 “ dering the star visible ; observing, that it depends on the
 “ antimony being more or less deprived of its sulphur. This
 “ year produced from the professor a thesis, containing
 “ ‘ Some Strictures on the erroneous Method of preparing
 “ certain Chymical Remedies :’ a signal proof of his appli-
 “ cation

“ cation of true chymical knowledge to the real advantage
“ of practical medicine.

“ In the acts of the Royal Society of Stockholm for 1754,
“ the professor has described the method of making, from
“ mercury alone, the *arbor dianae*, or what has been called
“ the philosophical tree.

“ In the same acts, Vol. XXI. for 1760, with equal abi-
“ lity, he inquires into ‘ the nature of that earth which ex-
“ ists in all vegetables and animals as a principle of their
“ composition;’ and he here takes occasion to speak of the
“ method of obtaining pure earth of this kind, from water
“ by trituration, as mentioned by Eller: a fact which has
“ been much doubted, and disputed, by many subsequent
“ philosophers and chymists. In these acts also, for the year
“ 1765, we find the result of his examination of platina, by
“ which it appears that he thought it a real metal, and not,
“ as some have judged, either a recrement, or a mixed metal.

“ In 1761, he published an academical dissertation, under
“ the title of ‘ Chymical Principles of Agriculture,’ in quarto,
“ nearly of 300 pages; in which the various methods of
“ fertilizing different soils, by manures, and other processes,
“ are discussed. About the same time he wrote, in the Swe-
“ dish tongue, a thesis, on occasion of some mischief done
“ at Upsala by lightening, intended to prove the perfect simi-
“ larity between the matter of lightening and the electrical
“ fire.

“ In 1768 Wallerius gave to the world a large volume in
“ octavo, in Latin, ‘ On the Elements of Metallurgy,’ in
“ which he has copiously delivered the principles of the
“ docimastick art. The same year he also put forth what
“ he calls ‘ Lucubrations on all the Systems of Mineralogical
“ Writers,’ and on the ‘ method of constructing a rational

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“ classification of the fossil kingdom.’ This is a work of
 “ much labour and erudition ; and is highly gratifying to a
 “ curious searcher into nature. He begins with the earliest
 “ writers on the subject, and follows them through each
 “ century to the present time. He has exemplified the latter
 “ part of his lucubrations in his own system, of which he
 “ published the first volume in a Latin edition in 1772 ;
 “ and the second in 1778. This work must be considered
 “ as his capital performance. The French edition of 1754
 “ had been in great estimation and constant use : this is much
 “ enlarged ; and, by being rendered into Latin, is become
 “ more scientifick, and better adapted to general use. The
 “ great treasure of erudition and experimental knowledge
 “ which it contains, makes it unquestionably one of the most
 “ valuable books on the science ; and, in defiance of all
 “ changes of systems or circumstances in mineralogy and
 “ chymistry, it must long remain a striking instance of the
 “ labour, learning, and science of its author. Beside the ex-
 “ cellent arrangement given to the whole subject, and the
 “ well-defined characters of each class, order, and genus, it is
 “ enriched at the end of each genus with copious *scholia*,
 “ containing the opinions of preceding authors on the several
 “ substances ; and, after all these, his own idea of the true
 “ nature or composition of each. One of the latest of his
 “ works is his *Meditationes de Origine Mundi*, printed at Stock-
 “ holm, in octavo, 1779, pp. 242. It is to be expected, that
 “ many of the principles contained in this work, relating to
 “ fire, light, fixed air, &c. and much of his reasoning, par-
 “ ticularly on the inflammable, saline, and aqueous princi-
 “ ples in bodies, will not be received by all the philosophers
 “ of this country ; nor his theory of the formation of this
 “ globe, be thought satisfactory. Yet, the learning he has

“ displayed, and his well-intended sollicitude to reconcile his
 “ system and the changes of the elements, to the Mosaick
 “ account of the creation, will ensure his work a candid re-
 “ ception among all who are inclined to speculate on these
 “ intricate subjects, and are friendly to religion. CHAP.
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“ This learned man, after having filled the chair for thirty
 “ years with high reputation, resigned in 1767 the profes-
 “ sorship, and was honoured by his sovereign with the or-
 “ der of Vasa. Wallerius is now above eighty, and still
 “ continues to enjoy, at his house near Upsala, a literary
 “ retirement.

“ Axel Frederick Cronstedt, the excellent Cronstedt, as
 “ he is justly called, descended from a noble German family
 “ naturalized in Sweden, was a native of Sudermanland, and
 “ was born in 1722. He studied mineralogy under Walle-
 “ rius, Swab, and Tilas. He commenced his walk in this
 “ field of science by a discovery which soon rendered him
 “ conspicuous, that of a new semimetal, called Nickel. He
 “ gave the first intimation of it in a paper published in the
 “ Stockholm Acts, for the year 1751; and he detailed some
 “ experiments made upon it, in the same work, for the year
 “ 1754. In 1753 he published Observations ‘on Gypsum;’
 “ and in the sixteenth volume of the Acts for 1755, gave a
 “ curious account of silver precipitated from water in the
 “ Kongsborg mines. In 1756 Cronstedt distinguished him-
 “ self by the discovery of the zeolite, which he first named,
 “ and separated as a distinct stone, consisting of a peculiar
 “ earth, as its basis: his observations on it were printed in
 “ the Stockholm Acts for that year. Professor Bergman has
 “ since found, by analyzing zeolite, that it consists of a
 “ mixture of siliceous, argillaceous, and calcareous earth.

In

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“In the same Acts, vol. XVIII. for 1757, he published an ingenious paper, with a view to detect the colouring principle in the cow-wheat (*Mesamylum arvense*), the stalks of which, when faded, acquire a fine blue colour. They yield this colour to water, and it is not destroyed either by vinegar, or spirit of vitriol, or by alkalis, unless boiled together with these latter; which led him to suspect that a vegetable dye, or pigment, might be extracted from this plant. In 1758, at which time he was director of the mines of Dalecarlia and Westmanland, Cronstedt published his ‘Essay towards a system of Mineralogy.’ It was printed in the Swedish language, and without the name of the author. In 1760, it was translated into German; and in 1770, into English; and is now in the hands of all diligent inquirers into the knowledge of fossils. Wallerius himself has called it *Opus sine pari*. The author, not being led away with what he calls *Figuromania*, but neglecting the external appearances of mineral bodies, has succeeded beyond all others, in classing them according to their constituent principles. This method obliges him to make no distinction between earths and stones; and to throw into an appendix all that are called figured extraneous fossils, which had held so distinguished a rank in former systems.

“In the Stockholm Acts for 1761, he has given some instructions relating to the choice of stone for building; and hints at the practicability of using the slag of iron smelting houses, by running it into* moulds for bricks; which hint is prosecuted in a subsequent paper of the year 1763, advising, that the lime which is used should be re-

* This is now practised at the forges at Bristol; and there are long ranges of wall near Bath covered with this material.

“duced

"duced into fine powder. In the same volume he commu-
 "nicates some observations 'on the Physical Geography of
 "the Province of Jemtland in Sweden.' In the 25th volume
 "for 1764, Cronstedt delivered in a process on platina, when
 "melted with nickel and sulphur; which he found reco-
 "verable in the form of a black powder, by dissolving the
 "mixed substance in aqua-fortis.

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"It is to be lamented that this able man did not live
 "longer, to improve still further that science he so much
 "enlightened. He died in 1765, in the 43d year of his
 "age."

A posthumous work of this accurate mineralogist has
 lately made its appearance. For some time before his death
 he was employed in arranging and preparing for the press
 an account of the mines of Westmanland and Dalecarlia, of
 which he was superindent. A copy of this performance,
 originally written by the author in the Swedish tongue, which
 he completed but did not live to publish, was fortunately
 procured by Mr. Georgi, adjunct to the Imperial Academy of
 Sciences at St. Petersburg; who has given to the world a
 German translation of it under the following title*, "Cron-
 "stedt's Mineralogical Account of the Mines of Westmanland
 "and Dalecarlia, from his own observations and researches;"
 a work replete with much curious information, and remark-
 able for that accuracy and precision, which so highly distin-
 guish all his other writings.

"I regret that it is not in my power to furnish the reader
 "with more particular anecdotes of professor Bergman. He
 "very early distinguished himself by a strong attachment to
 "science; and was, at a young period of his life, made pro-

* "Mineral Geschichte ueber Westman- " auf Beobachtungen und Untersuechun-
 "landische und Dalecarlische Erdgebirge " gen gegrundet," &c.

" professor

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“ fessor of mathematicks and natural philosophy in the uni-
 “ versity of Upsala. We find him, so early as the year
 “ year 1756, in the 17th volume of the Stockholm Acts,
 “ correcting a mistake of the celebrated Linnæus; who, for
 “ want of more perfect information, had described, under the
 “ name of *coccus aquaticus*, the egg of a species of the leech
 “ genus; and, in the subsequent year, he gave an accurate
 “ description of that genus, which was afterwards generally
 “ adopted by Linnæus himself.

“ In 1759 he published a paper containing ‘ A Review
 “ of the several Explanations which Natural Philosophers
 “ have given of the Rainbow;’ and, in 1760, some thoughts
 “ ‘ on the Origin of those kinds of Meteors which are not
 “ accompanied by any sensible sound or explosion;’ and a
 “ paper on the opinions held by philosophers, relating to the
 “ twilight; to which he has prefixed the account of Mairan’s
 “ *antirepusculum*, or that of the horizon opposite to the sun.

“ In 1761 and 1762 professor Bergman wrote, in the
 “ Swedish Acts, on the subject of electricity, in consequence
 “ of a correspondence with Mr. Wilson; and particularly on
 “ the electrical quality of Iceland chrystal, and double re-
 “ fracting spar. In the year 1763 he again distinguished
 “ himself among the entomologists, by a paper on the *ten-*
 “ *tbredo*, or saw-fly, the caterpillars of which had commonly
 “ been confounded with those of the butter-fly and moth,
 “ until he discovered that the feet in the latter are never more
 “ than sixteen, but that in the *tentbredo* they always exceed
 “ that number. The same year produced from the author,
 “ a result of some electrical experiments, made with silk of
 “ various colours, but which did not prove satisfactory.

“ In 1767, on the resignation of Wallerius, Mr. Bergman
 “ was chosen to succeed him as professor of chymistry and
 “ metallurgy.

“ metallurgy. How ably he has filled this chair, so honour-
 “ ably occupied by his venerable predecessor, is well known
 “ to all who are interested in these pursuits. CHAP. VIII.

“ In the year 1764 the professor wrote a paper to ascer-
 “ tain, from a number of observations, the height in the at-
 “ mosphere, at which the *aurora borealis* exists. He com-
 “ putes, that these appearances are sometimes so low as at
 “ 20 Swedish miles*; at others, that they are raised to 150:
 “ the medium he therefore fixes at 72. These observations
 “ were afterwards further prosecuted.

“ In 1765 and 1766 he wrote again on electrical subjects,
 “ and chiefly on the property and laws of electricity in the
 “ Tourmalin; which had been put into his hands, by the
 “ Royal Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, for examination.

“ In 1767 the professor published some important hints
 “ relative to the depuration of alum, at the alum-works;
 “ observing, that it was customary to employ alkali, in order
 “ to free it from the vitriol. He advises rather to use for that
 “ purpose the admixture of a portion of argillaceous earth,
 “ and proposes a tobacco-pipe clay.

“ A paper having appeared in the Stockholm Acts, for
 “ 1769, on the culture of pine-trees, Mr. Bergman also pub-
 “ lished in the same, ‘ An account of the Insects which de-
 “ stroy that Tree in Sweden;’ and he attributes the devasta-
 “ tion to the abundance of the *tentredo* caterpillar. In that
 “ kingdom, where such immense quantities of wood are con-
 “ sumed in the smelting furnaces, these matters are deserving
 “ of high attention.

“ In 1770, in order to induce the Swedish chymists to
 “ prepare corrosive sublimate, which was then chiefly im-
 “ ported, our author published a paper, containing a recital

* A degree containing $10\frac{1}{2}$ Swedish miles; a Swedish mile = about $6\frac{1}{2}$ English miles.

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“ of the various methods hitherto used to unite mercury
“ with the marine acid; and he prosecutes the history of
“ this combination in two subsequent volumes of the same
“ acts.

“ Some buildings at Stockholm having suffered by light-
“ ening in the year 1769, our author, and his successor in
“ the professorship of natural philosophy, Mr. Wilkie, both
“ published ‘ on the subject of conductors to lightening.’

“ In 1771, Vol. XXXII. of the Stockholm Acts, professor
“ Bergman gives ‘ some Instructions concerning the best
“ Clay Compositions for making Tiles.’ In 1773 issued his
“ observations on fixed air; or, as he chuses rather to call it,
“ the aërial acid: this paper, and several others, printed be-
“ fore and after this time, either separately, or in the Stock-
“ holm Acts, have since been collected, and published by the
“ author in Latin, in three volumes, octavo, 1779, 1780,
“ 1783, under the title of *Opuscula physica et chemica**;
“ *pleraque seorsim antea edita jam ab auctore collecta, revisa*
“ *et aucta*; and have further contributed to extend his fame,
“ and most deservedly raise his character to a high rank
“ throughout Europe. The author proposes to carry on his
“ miscellaneous publication on the same plan.

“ Dr. Troil’s account of Iceland contains a very curious
“ letter from the professor, written in 1776, in which he
“ introduces many judicious observations on the effects of
“ subterraneous fires, on the origin and formation of basal-
“ tes, and the lavas and fossil products of Iceland †.

* The following plan of this work is thus
laid down by the author himself. “ Primo
“ volumini præsertim Halurgica inferui, in
“ secundo mineralogica et metallurgica pro-
“ dibunt, in tertio attractionum doctrina,
“ una cum analyfi quorundam corporum or-
“ ganicorum, in quarto varia ad physicam

“ et historiam naturalem pertinentia, et in
“ sequentibus iterum chemica, si Deus vi-
“ tam viresque largitur.” *Opus. Phys. Præf.*
p. xvi.

† See Troil’s Letters on Iceland, p. 338.
400.

“ Profeffor Bergman has not confined his researches and
 “ inquiries to the mere analyfis of bodies in the laboratory, CHAP.
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 “ but has extended his views to what is called physical geo-
 “ graphy ; and has ventured to give the world his lucubra-
 “ tions on the ftructure and formation of the earth, in a pro-
 “ fefsed treatife on the fubject*. His effay on the ufeulnefs
 “ of chymiftry, lately tranflated into the Englifh language,
 “ evinces, not only his extenfive acquaintance with this fci-
 “ ence in a theoretical and practical way, but alfo his compre-
 “ henfive view of the good effects its improvement muft
 “ have on the interefts of mankind.”

It may be proper to obferve, that Mr. Bergman has com-
 pofed two academical differtations †, replete with much accu-
 rate information on the origin and progrefs of chymiftry. In
 the firft he treats of the rife of that art and its gradual im-
 provement in a chronological ferief to the middle of the 7th
 century ; in the fecond he carries his inquiries from that pe-
 riod to the middle of the 17th century ; and it is to be hoped
 that he will in the fame manner profecute this fubject to the
 prefent time.

In the fourth volume of the Upfala Acts, the profeffor
 has lately put forth *Meditationes de Syftemate Foffilium Natu-
 rali* ; or, Confiderations on the Natural Syftem of Foffils.
 This learned work is divided into two parts : the firft, on
 their arrangement, treats of natural bodies in general, of the
 criteria of foffils in general, of their claffes, genera, fpecies,
 varieties ; the fecond lays down rules for giving names to
 foffils ; a great defideratum in this branch of natural know-
 ledge ; and which will tend to prevent that confufion and

* “ Phyfick Befkrifnung oefoer Jordklo-
 “ tet,” or Phyfical Defcription of the Earth.

† De Primordiis Chemiæ in 1777. Che-
 miæ Progreffus a Medio Sæc. VII. ad Me-
 dium Sæc. XVII.—1782.

uncertainty derived from the want of precise, general, and
specifick appellations.

“The reader will not wonder that such extraordinary
“merit should have been duly noticed by the king of Swe-
“den. That monarch has honoured professor Bergman
“with the order of Vasa*; and all men of science will join
“in wishing that he may long fill the chair he now occupies
“so much to the advancement of science.”

The last work which I shall mention of this great chy-
mist, is the *Sciagraphia Mineralis*, or Sketch of the Mineral
Kingdom; which may be considered as heads of a course of
lectures drawn up for the use of Mr. Ferbar, who ob-
tained the author's permission to present it to the world.
This short, but able tract, was first published in 1782, at
Leipsick and Dessau, and was immediately reprinted in Eng-
land and Italy.

* Having omitted to give an account of
the Swedish orders, I shall take this oppor-
tunity of mentioning them. There are four
orders: the three first were instituted in
1748 by Frederick I.; and the last by the
present king.

I. The order of the Seraphin, or the blue
ribband; which is appropriated to persons
of the first rank. It admits only of 24 mem-
bers exclusive of the royal family and fo-
reign princes. II. The order of the sword,
or the yellow ribband, for the officers of
the navy and army. There are three classes
of this order: 1. Commanders of the great-
cross, who wear the ribbands over the
shoulders, and a star on their coat. 2. Com-
manders, who wear the ribband in the same
manner, but without the star. Each of
these classes contains 24 members. 3.
Knights, who wear the small cross pendent
from the button-hole. The number of these
is indefinite, but generally amount to above
1000. III. Polar-star, or the black ribband.
Of this order there are two classes: 1.

Commanders, who wear the great cross
pendent round the neck. There are 24 of
this class, but the king proposes to add four
for the bishops. 2. Knights, who wear the
small cross pendent from the button-hole,
are, exclusive of foreigners, 48; to whom
the king proposes to add six for the clergy.
This order, before the institution of the
following order of Vasa, was conferred up-
on men of letters. IV. The order of Vasa,
or the green ribband, established at the co-
ronation of the present king, is divided into
three classes: 1. Commanders of the great
cross, who wear the ribband over the
shoulder, and the star on the coat. 2. Com-
manders, who wear the ribband over the
shoulder without the star. 3. Knights, who
wear the ribband over the neck. This or-
der is conferred upon persons who have dis-
tinguished themselves in agriculture, com-
merce, the arts, and particular sciences;
such as natural history, chymistry, medi-
cine, &c.

I shall here subjoin the following analysis of it by the same ingenious author to whom I am indebted for the former part of this chapter. CHAP.
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“ The *Sciagraphia Mineralis**, although but the outlines of a system, will be thankfully received by all mineralogists. Cronstedt laid the basis of the method pursued in this tract, and made an extensive progress in the prosecution of it. Bergman professes to have adopted his ideas; and, after his example, begins by establishing the following first principles.

“ First, That of whatsoever value external appearance may be in the arrangement of organized bodies, as in animals and plants, yet it is not to be trusted in the classing of unorganized substances; colour, consistence, and texture, being too variable to be depended on as certain characteristics. He by no means, however, disallows the use of these external qualities, since, to an experienced eye, they will greatly assist us in ascertaining the nature of fossils, and frequently direct to the shortest method of analyzing them. Secondly, It is only from a knowledge of the internal composition, that the classes, genera, and species of fossils are to be determined, and the external appearance must be referred to the distinction of varieties only. Thirdly, In general, the principle or matter which abounds most in any substance, is to determine its place in the system. But this law must be subject to exceptions, where one of the compounds is, as a base, the most important part of the mixed body. This holds in the earths, and particularly in the ores of metals. Fourthly, The solid principles must usually be admitted to form the generical character, although

* This tract has been lately translated by Dr. Withering. See outlines of Mineralogy from the original of Sir Torbern Bergman, &c.

“ it

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“ it should exist in a less proportion than the fluid part.
 “ To instance in magnesia, gypsum, and alum, in all which
 “ the genus is determined from the solid ingredient, or the
 “ earth, and not by the fluid part or vitriolick acid, al-
 “ though the quantity of the latter greatly exceeds that of
 “ the former.

“ The specifick characters are to be deduced from the dif-
 “ ferent combinations and proportions of the several princi-
 “ ples in each.

“ All mineral bodies fall into four great classes : I. Salts;
 “ II. Earths ; III. Bitumens ; and, IV. Metals.

“ CLASS I. SALTS.

“ Salts are acid, alkaline, neutral, earthy, and metallick.
 “ In this class, to the three well-known acids of vitriol, nitre,
 “ and sea-salt, the author, beside introducing the phospho-
 “ rick acid as a principle, has joined also the fluor acid ; the
 “ acid of arsenick ; one newly discovered in black-lead, called
 “ the acid of *molybdena* ; one called the acid of *calx ponderosa* ;
 “ the acid of borax ; that of amber ; and lastly, the aerial
 “ acid, or fixed air.

“ The fluor acid, first discovered by Mr. Scheele, has, while
 “ in the form of vapours, the power of corroding glass, and
 “ with water forms siliceous earth *. It is found united to
 “ a calcareous base in the *fluor mineralis* ; and, as professor
 “ Bergman strongly suspects, enters into the composition of
 “ all siliceous bodies.

“ The acid of *molybdena* the professor conjectures to be of
 “ metallick origin ; and he thinks there is reason to believe,
 “ that each metal has its peculiar acid, although, as yet, from

* It has been since discovered and ac- does not, as he imagined in this place, when
 knowledged by the author, that although in a state of vapour, actually form siliceous
 the fluor acid dissolves siliceous earths earth with water.
 whenever it meets with them ; yet, that it

“ the

“ the stronger union of the acid with the phlogiston, it has
 “ not been developed, except in arsenick, where the cohesion
 “ is less firm.

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“ To the number of alkaline salts there is no addition.
 “ The neutral are divided into perfect and imperfect : the
 “ latter, being those in which one of the component princi-
 “ ples exists, either in a smaller quantity, or is weaker in its
 “ power than is fully requisite. The more perfect neutral salts,
 “ formed by the union of the three alkalies, with the three
 “ primitive mineral acids, are well known. The imper-
 “ fect are, tincal or borax, being the mineral alkali partially
 “ impregnated with a peculiar acid; the vegetable alkali
 “ united with the aërial acid, which, he observes, is
 “ seldom found native, except in the neighbourhood of great
 “ woods destroyed by fire; the *alkali minerale aëratum*,
 “ or natron; and the alkali volatile *aëratum*; for an ac-
 “ count of which see Phil. Transf. Vol. LVII.

“ Among the earthy salts he has introduced that from
 “ which the first of his primitive earths is produced. He
 “ calls it *terra ponderosa vitriolata*. Among the salts the
 “ professor has also brought the gypsum, or selenites, under
 “ the name of *calx vitriolata*; the *calx nitrata*, or terrene
 “ nitre, found sparingly in waters. He relates, upon this
 “ article, that there are said to be chalk-hills in France spon-
 “ taneously impregnated with the nitrous acid; the *calx sa-*
 “ *lita*, or fixed ammoniacal salt; the *calx aërata*, or marble,
 “ lime-stone, &c. of waters; the *magnesia vitriolata*, or Ep-
 “ som salt; the *magnesia nitrata aërata*; and finally, the
 “ alum, or *argilla vitriolata*.

“ The metallick salts are, the *cuprum vitriolatum*, or blue
 “ vitriol; *ferrum vitriolatum*, or green vitriol; *ferrum aëra-*
 “ *tum*, or iron dissolved by the aerial acid in mineral waters;

“ *Niccolum*

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“ *Niccolum vitriolatum*, or vitriol of nickel; *zincum vitriolatum*, or white vitriol; and the *manganefium* salitum* or manganefe united to the muriatick acid, which has been found diffolved in fome waters by Mr. Hielm.

“ The profeffor closes this class by enumerating fome species of falts, which are compofed of three or more principles, fo ftrictly combined as not to feparate in chryftallizing. These *sales triplices* are the falt of the ocean mixed with magnesia; Epsom falt, with martial vitriol; native alum, impregnated with martial vitriol, and with vitriol of cobalt; blue vitriol with iron; green vitriol with nickel; and blue vitriol, with iron and zinc.

“ Throughout this class are concifely pointed out the feveral *matrices* and natural modes of exiftence of all thefe fubjects; as well as the method of procuring the pure artificial ones, and of detecting them when in folution; the earthy falts being precipitated by mild, and the metallick by phlogifticated alkalies.

“ In all the classes profeffor Bergman, after the manner of Linnæus, Wallerius, and Cronstedt, has endeavoured to give names to all the fubjects expreffive of the internal characters or principles of each.

“ CLASS II. EARTHS.

“ Of thefe he allows only five diftinct kinds, or fuch as are termed primitiue earths, being incapable, by any art yet known, of further decomposition.

“ These are, 1. *terra ponderosa*, or heavy earth; 2. Calx, or calcareous earth; 3. Magnesia; 4. *Argilla*, or argillaceous earth; and 5. *Terra filicea*, or filiceous earth.

* In the original it is *magnesium*; but Mr. Withering informs us, that it is now changed, by the concurrence of profeffor Bergman, to *manganefium*, in order to prevent confufion from its fimilarity to magnesia.

“ Cronstedt

“ Cronstedt had stated nine primitive earths ; of which
 “ Bergman has reduced the garnet kind, micaceous, and the
 “ zeolitic, to his argillaceous genus, having discovered them
 “ to be compounded principally of that earth, with various
 “ proportions of some other of his primitive earths. He has
 “ since also found the asbestine earth of Cronstedt to be a
 “ compounded earth ; and as to the manganese, it stands no
 “ longer in this class, but occupies the last place among the
 “ ignoble metals.

“ 1. The *terra ponderosa*, which the author first detected
 “ in 1774, is procured in its present state from the ponde-
 “ rous spar, or *marmor metallicum* ; which, with the *lapis*
 “ *hepaticus*, (Cronst. §. 24), appears hitherto to be the only
 “ substance in which it has been found ; though he scarcely
 “ doubts but that it will be discovered in many others. 2.
 “ *Calx*. The most pure is yielded by chalk. Under this ge-
 “ nus are ranged, first, the limestones of Cronst. §. 5—12.
 “ called here *calx aerata* ; the *lapis suillus*, which is lime-
 “ stone impregnated with *petroleum* ; *fluor mineralis*, or
 “ sparry fluor, of Cronst. §. 87—101 ; marle, which he
 “ calls *calx aerata tam argillaceo quam siliceo inquinata* ; and
 “ several others. 3. *Magnesia*, procured from Epsom salt.
 “ Professor Bergman enumerates five species ; among which
 “ are the soap-rocks, Cronst. 79—83, which he deno-
 “ minates *magnesia siliceo intime adunata*. All these, except
 “ the pure magnesia of waters, are much contaminated by
 “ iron. 4. *Argilla*. The pure elementary earth of this kind
 “ is best obtained from alum. Under this genus are enu-
 “ merated ten species, as having the argillaceous earth for
 “ the principal basis : the porcelain clay ; bole ; marle ;
 “ *terra lemnia* ; white alum ore ; alum slate ; the gems,
 “ such as the ruby, sapphire, topaz, emerald ; the granites,
 VOL. II. O o o “ basaltes

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“ basaltic or scierle; zeolite; and the talky and micaceous
 “ bodies. The diamond is not ranged under this head.
 “ The tourmalin holds a middle place between the genus
 “ and the scierles. 5. *Terra silicea*, procured in its purest
 “ state from rock chrystal. This earth is insoluble in all the
 “ acids, except the fluor acid. The professor seems to sus-
 “ pect, that it is, nevertheless, not a pure primitive or ele-
 “ mentary earth. Under this genus rank all the quartz tribe;
 “ chalcedony; probably also the opal; jaspers; *petrosilex*,
 “ or chert; feldt spat; and the yellowish green cloudy to-
 “ paz, or *chrysoprasis*. Whether the cornelian, and the re-
 “ maining part of the flinty stones, belong to this genus, he
 “ is yet not able to determine.

CLASS III. BITUMENS;

“ Or inflammable bodies; which the author divides only
 “ into two genera, under the names of sulphur and petro-
 “ leum. Among the first rank common brimstone; plum-
 “ bago; black-lead or molybdena, a sulphur united to a pe-
 “ culiar acid.

“ Under the genera of petroleum he classes the naphtha
 “ and rock oils, coal, and amber. Professor Bergman adopts
 “ the opinion of M. Aublet, concerning the vegetable origin
 “ of ambergrease*. But it is very lately rendered more pro-
 “ bable, that it is an animal production, being the scybala of
 “ the whale. This opinion is ingeniously supported by rea-
 “ son and analogy, as well as by some facts, in a paper writ-
 “ ten by Dr. Schwediawer, in the last volume of the Philoso-
 “ phical Transactions †.

“ Many mineralogists will be surprized to see the diamond
 “ in the bituminous class; yet professor Bergman confesses that

* See Histoire des Plantes de la Guiane Francoise, Vol. II. Sup. p. 39. Couma Tab. 392.

† Vol. II. p. 226—241.

“ he could not find a more proper station for it ; and he justifies himself on the following considerations : it remains untouched by all the acids ; it is evaporable in the open fire, appearing to dissipate in a cloud, or lambent flame ; and in the focus of the speculum it leaves slight traces of footy remains. This deflagration, howsoever slow and gentle, he apprehends, reduces it to a place among inflammable bodies. ”

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“ CLASS IV. METALS. ”

“ In the introductory section to this class, the professor asserts the great affinity that subsists between bituminous bodies and metals, by observing, that both zinc and arsenick flame when properly heated in the fire. ”

“ He divides metals into noble and ignoble ; and treats of them in the order of their specifick gravities. ”

“ Of gold he enumerates four species, found in a native state ; and, though he mentions a *pyrites aureus* (Cronst. §. 166. a), has nevertheless some doubts, as to the reality of the mineralization of gold. Platina *, he says, is always debased with a martial admixture. Of silver he gives seven species as native, and eleven mineralized. He attributes to Mr. Woulfe the merit of observing the vitriolick principle in horn silver ; and gives him equal praise for his discovery, that mercury is mineralized by the muriatick and vitriolick acids. Under lead, the professor mentions a species found by M. Mounet, which is mineralized by means of the vitriolick acid ; and another, detected by Dr. Gahn, which is reduced to ore by the phosphorick acid. ”

“ He has exhibited, under the article of copper, a species sent to him by Mr. Werner, which he found to be mine-

* Count Sickingen has lately discovered as 18 to 1, is now proved to be as 21 to 1. a means of purifying platina, by which Gold is only as 19. 64 to 1. See Versuche that metal, before supposed to be to water ueber die Platina. Mannheim.

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“ralized with argillaceous earth and muriatick acid. Only nine
 “species of iron* are enumerated in this work; one of which,
 “he says, contains a new metal. This has since been further
 “investigated, exalted in fact to the rank of a metal, and
 “most aptly named *fiderum*. The mispickel of authors is
 “removed from the arsenick ores to the iron, and described
 “under the name of *ferrum nativum arsenico adunatum*. He
 “tells us, that he never saw native tin; and doubts its exist-
 “ence. Two new species from Siberia are mentioned in
 “the preface, under the name of *Stannum sulphuratum*.
 “Bismuth and nickel stand nearly as they do in Cronstedt,
 “except that Bergman does not notice the nickel of Cron-
 “stedt, which is said to be mineralized by the vitriolick acid.
 “The species of arsenick and cobalt remain nearly the same
 “in professor Bergman’s arrangement, as in that of Cron-
 “stedt. The professor seems to think that the analysis of
 “arsenick leads further into the true nature of metallick sub-
 “stances than that of any other metal; since, from arsenick,
 “not only the redundant quantity of phlogiston is capable of
 “being extricated, so as to leave it in a calciform state, as in
 “other metals; but, by further management, it can also be
 “deprived of the remaining portion, and its peculiar acid
 “thus developed. If art should ever be able to destroy in
 “other metals, as in this, that strong cohesion which subsists
 “between the phlogiston and the acid, it must, as he ob-
 “serves, very greatly improve our knowledge of mineral
 “substances. In treating of zinc, he introduces a curious
 “kind, communicated by M. Born, which he calls *zincum*
 “*aëratum siliceo mixtum*. Of antimony only three species

* In 1782, was published by Sweno Rinman, director of the iron manufacturies; a most able treatise, “Foerfoek till Jærnets historia,” or Essay on the History of Iron,

the result of forty years observations. A translation of this work could not fail of being highly useful to the English naturalist and manufacturer.

“ are

“are enumerated. *Manganefium*, or manganefe, which, in CHAP. VIII.
 “the works of Cronstedt and Wallerius, is placed among the
 “earths, having been reduced to a reguline state, is now, for
 “the first time, brought into the metallick class, and occu-
 “pies the last place. The author makes two species a cal-
 “ciform, and another which is mineralized by the aerial
 “acid.

“The *manganefium*, and the new metal since called *si-*
 “*derum*, are not the only new metals mentioned in this
 “sketch. He gives us, in the 32d section, several reasons
 “which induced to think that the acid of Molybdena was of
 “metallick origin; and relates, that in consequence of his
 “directions, M. Hielm has obtained a regulus from that sub-
 “stance; though, at the publication of this work, it had not
 “been sufficiently examined.

“It is even suspected by the author, that his *terra ponde-*
 “*rosa* is in reality a new metal: for there is great similarity
 “between this earth and the calx of lead, and he has lately
 “discovered a method of precipitating it by means of the
 “phlogisticated alkali. Nevertheless, not having hitherto
 “been able to reduce it to a reguline state, it must remain
 “among the earths.

“Although in systems of mineralogy founded entirely on
 “chymical characters, stones, and petrefactions, have no
 “place in the body of the system, yet professor Berg-
 “man does not mean to exclude a due attention to them;
 “the knowledge of the former being of the utmost impor-
 “tance in the arts of life; and that of petrefactions leading,
 “perhaps, finally to explain more intimately, not only the
 “nature of the containing substances, but the internal con-
 “stitution of the globe. Hence he has, in the manner of
 “Wallerius and Cronstedt, put them at the end of this work,

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“and very briefly suggested a method of arranging them,
“founded on the classical characters of his own system.

“It should seem that professor Bergman has not introduced
“into this sketch any articles of the fossil kingdom, which
“chymistry has not sufficiently ascertained; and to his own
“labours many very important discoveries and alterations
“are owing: yet, from this slight view of his work, it is
“immediately discerned, that the completion of a system
“must be wanting, till the labour and attention of chymists
“have found the true place of a great number of substances
“hitherto not sufficiently analyzed. In the mean time, till
“that perfection is attained, it would be highly desirable to
“see, from the pen of so skilful a master, the whole mineral
“kingdom, as far as is possible, arranged agreeably to the
“plan here laid down; since the sagacity and penetrating
“eye of so able a chymist would qualify him to assign, with
“great probability, the true place of many substances
“which chymical analysis might not have absolutely fixed:
“and we are glad to announce, that the author intends here-
“after to publish this work on an enlarged and more perfect
“plan*.”

* Paucis interjectis annis, si Deus vitam viresque largitur, et locupletius et adcuratius
hoc rudimentum proditurum spero.

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C H A P. IX.

General description of the country.—Westeros.—Tomb of Eric XIV.—His imprisonment and death.—Account of his family.—Singular adventures of his eldest son Gustavus.—Kungsoer.—Arboga.—Orebro.—Mariestadt.—Lindkioping.—Trolhætta.—River Gotha.—Attempts to join the Gulf of Bothnia and the German Ocean by an inland navigation across Sweden.—Fruitless endeavours to render the cataracts of Trolhætta navigable.—Description of the works.

THE provinces of Upland, Westmanland, and Nerike, CHAP.
IX. which I traversed in my way to Gotheborg, are esteemed the richest and finest parts of Sweden; and indeed I can hardly figure to myself a more variegated or pleasing scenery than is exhibited by the general face of the country. Hills and dales, rocks and vallies, small plains, numerous lakes, forests, meadows and arable land, frequent towns and villages, and scattered farm-houses, are blended together with a constant and delightful variety. Thus Sweden, which some travellers, forming their judgement merely from the few districts that fell under their immediate observation, have described as a mass of barren and ungenial soil, is evidently not deficient in the most picturesque beauties of rural nature. But I hasten from general to particular description.

March 6. From Upsala I passed a tract of country, more open and fertile than I had hitherto observed in Sweden, to Endkioping, a small town, situated upon a river close to an inlet of the lake Mæler, and consisting chiefly of wooden
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houses painted for the most part red. It stands upon a ridge of ground composed of sand and gravel, which once formed the shore of the lake. Beyond it is a small plain, formerly covered with water, in which I observed many scattered fragments of granite.

The two next posts brought me, at the end of 24 miles, to Westeros, situated likewise upon a small river close to the Mæler.

Westeros, or Western Arosia, so called to distinguish it from Ostra Aros, or Eastern Arosia, the antient name of Upsala, is esteemed, by the native writers, a place of very high antiquity. They derive its appellation by a fanciful etymology from the river Ar, and Os, a mouth; and suppose it to be alluded to by Tacitus*, and by Jornandes the Gothick historian. But without dwelling upon such etymological inquiries, which are apt to rest upon slender foundations, we may observe, that the name occurs in the earliest times of Swedish history. Westeros carries on a considerable commerce with Stockholm across the lake Mæler; particularly in copper and iron from the neighbouring mines, which abound in the province of Westmanland.

It is a large straggling town, composed of wooden houses, and contains the ruins of an antient palace, formerly inhabited by the kings of Sweden. It is a bishop's see; and the cathedral, which is built with brick, is celebrated for the tower, esteemed the highest in the kingdom: the lower part of this tower is square, and supports a hexagon spire tapering gradually like a pyramid, and covered with painted metal.

Within the cathedral is the tomb of Eric XIV. whom I have before had occasion to mention, and whose final cataf-

* Dahlin, Vol. I. p. 193.

trophe I shall now relate. We may pity the unfortunate monarch who was subject to such dreadful fits of insanity as may account, in some degree, for his actions; yet we cannot, at the same time, but confess, that he was unworthy to reign. The prelude to his deposition was the release of his brother John* from the castle of Gripsholm, where he had been confined by Eric during the space of four years. His dethronement, which he had merited by the most flagrant enormities, was hastened by his imprudence in publicly espousing Catharine, a woman of the lowest extraction, who had formerly been his mistress; and by what he considered as the most fortunate circumstance of his life, the birth of a son, whom he had compelled his brothers to acknowledge as the heir apparent to the throne. This event excluding his brothers, John and Charles, from all hopes of the succession, disposed them to avail themselves of the general discontents, which the capricious conduct of Eric, his mistrust of the principal nobility, and his unlimited confidence in persons of the meanest extraction, excited through the kingdom. Accordingly, on the 10th of July, 1568, they raised the standard of revolt at Wadstena, and their party rapidly acquired such numbers, that Eric, being besieged in Stockholm, was soon compelled to capitulate, and to make a publick abdication of his crown in favour of John. The deposed monarch was immediately imprisoned in the castle of Stockholm, where he endured every species of persecution and indignity. To use his own pathetick words, which best express his sufferings, "God knows how cruelly and unworthily I have been used these 22 weeks last past. Not a day goes over my head

* John had been justly imprisoned for maintaining a secret correspondence with marrying the daughter of Sigismund king Sigismund had been condemned to death of Poland in opposition to Eric: and for by the states, but was pardoned by the king.

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“ without leaving behind it some affliction. We have been
 “ (beside the provocations given us from the reproaches of
 “ slanderous men), exceedingly tormented with hunger, cold,
 “ stench, and darkness ; and, what is more affecting than all
 “ the rest, my enemies have more than once attacked us with
 “ swords and poniards. Sometimes we have been deprived
 “ of the common refreshments of rest and sleep, because of
 “ tumults and noise in the night-season *.” Once, in par-
 ticular, being roused to resistance by the insults of one of his
 brutal keepers, the latter shattered his arm with a musket,
 and left him for several hours weltering in his blood without
 any assistance.

We are naturally anxious to know in what manner a sove-
 reign, long used to the pomp and pageantry of a court, could
 amuse himself in a prison, deprived not only of all the com-
 forts, but even the necessaries of life ; and history has, in this
 instance, gratified our curiosity.

During the first part of his confinement he employed him-
 self in writing an apology for his own conduct, as well
 with respect to his brother John, as in relation to the cata-
 trophe of the Stures. Several of the papers which he
 sketched upon this occasion still exist. They are drawn up
 in the form of syllogisms †, with the minutest attention to the
 rules of logick ; an extraordinary mode of consolation to a
 deposed sovereign.

In the beginning of 1569 Eric was summoned before the
 states assembled at Stockholm, and, like Charles I. of England,

* Account of Livonia, p. 114.

† A specimen of these syllogisms may,
 perhaps, not be unacceptable to the reader.

“ He who assists my enemy, declares
 “ himself my enemy ; John assisted my
 “ enemies with money ; ergo, he declares
 “ himself my enemy. He who favours the
 “ enemies of a kingdom, is an enemy of

“ that kingdom ; Nicholas Swantesson fa-
 “ voured the enemies of the kingdom ;
 “ Therefore he is an enemy of this king-
 “ dom. John is my subject, as well accord-
 “ ing to all the laws, as from his oath of
 “ allegiance ; therefore he cannot judge me
 “ who am his king, because I enjoy the
 “ Swedish law.” Hist. de Eric XIV. p. 210.

brought

brought to a trial before his subjects. His two brothers being present, the articles of accusation were read, when Eric, whose capacity, naturally good, was quickened by his misfortunes, answered the several charges, with a warmth of eloquence and subtlety of argument, which astonished his accusers. In the heat of dispute, John reproached him with his insanity: "I never was insane but once," the deposed monarch instantly replied, "and that was when I released you from prison."

At the conclusion of this trial, he was declared to have forfeited the crown by his misconduct and tyranny; and, being re-conducted to prison, underwent an additional load of calamities. He not only wanted occasionally common necessities, but, what afflicted him more strongly, he was deprived even of his books, which had hitherto afforded him some amusement, and of the society of his wife and children. In vain he wrote repeated letters to his brother, requesting some alleviation of his distress; but not the slightest notice was paid to these applications. However tyrannical we may esteem his conduct while he sat upon the throne, yet such unnatural cruelties, so wantonly inflicted without the least necessity, reflect the utmost disgrace upon the memory of his brother; and we almost lose our abhorrence of Eric's former actions in our sense of his calamitous situation. The people, at length sympathizing with the distress of their deposed sovereign, began to condemn the extreme rigour of his treatment, and a strong party even meditated a revolt. Upon its discovery and suppression, he was transferred to Abo in Finland, where he underwent a still severer confinement. In 1570 he was imprisoned at Castleholm, in the isle of Aland, in a dungeon, which I have described in a former chapter; and in the autumn of the same year was removed to the castle of Gripsholm.

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holm. Here his sorrows were for a while alleviated by the presence of his beloved Catharine: but he was again deprived of this comfort in 1573, upon being transferred to Westeros. In a letter to her, he complains bitterly of this separation, and assures her of his unalterable attachment. He laments the miseries of his own imprisonment; acquaints her that he had been confined in a dark dungeon for seven months, and was but just removed to a more comfortable apartment. "God forbid," he adds, "wherever you are, that you and your children should experience any similar severity: forget not your beloved Eric, and break not the marriage vow, to which I have always adhered with such inviolable constancy." From Westeros he was sent the following year to Orebyhus, near Wendel, in the province of Upland, where he terminated his miserable existence. These frequent changes in the places of his imprisonment, were occasioned by the apprehensions of John, who perceived that the nation began to compassionate his brother's wretched situation, and that many attempts had been actually made to restore him to liberty. In consequence of these alarms, John, in 1569, secretly laid before the senate the necessity of hastening Eric's death; but though he found no difficulty in obtaining their consent to that infamous proposal, yet he deferred the execution. At length, as Eric had once nearly escaped from prison, as the number of his partizans increased, he resolved to inflict the sentence of death which had been agreed to by the senate. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1577, he dispatched his secretary to Oreby with a dose of poison, and with directions in what manner to proceed. If Eric should obstinately refuse to swallow the draught, the keeper was ordered to open his veins, or to strangle him under a matrafs. There was, however, no occasion for proceeding to force. The wretched

wretched sufferer received the news of his approaching fate without the least emotion, and prepared for it with the utmost resignation. On the 22d of February, he partook of the sacrament with the most fervent devotion; and on the 26th at noon, having swallowed the poison in a plate of soup, expired, in the ninth year of his imprisonment, and in the 45th of his age*. His body was transported to Westeros, and interred in the cathedral, where the bishop of that see preached a funeral sermon from this remarkable text, "The kingdom is turned about and become my brother's; for it was his from the Lord." His tomb is a raised monument of plain stone: upon the walls of the chapel in which it stands are his arms; the three crowns as king of Sweden, the lion as duke of Finland, and the wheat-sheaf the device of the Vasa family. The whole inscription is E. R. or *Eric Rex*, in large characters, with a crown painted over each letter; and underneath the Latin text of the funeral sermon preached at his interment, *Translatum est regnum, &c.*

Eric, during the first part of his confinement, kept a journal of the occurrences which happened to him in prison; from which it appears, that his wife was the constant subject of his thoughts. During her absence, writing to her was his almost daily occupation; and his letters breathe the most affectionate and warmest attachment. He soothed many hours of his imprisonment by music, in which he excelled both as a performer and composer. His books, when he was indulged in the use of them, afforded him a pleasing resource, and he filled the margins with numerous remarks. He translated, into his native tongue, the history of the Swedish kings, from the original of John Magnus; to which he added some La-

* The circumstances of Eric's deposition and imprisonment are principally selected from the *Histoire d'Eric XIV.* by Celsius, Lib. XI. and XII.; and Dahlin's *Geschichte Von Sweden*, Vol. III. p. 538 to p. 551; and Vol. IV. p. 66 to 68.

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tin verses upon the character of each sovereign. He composed two penitential psalms, which are inserted in the Swedish Psalter. His memorial upon the causes of the war between himself and Frederick king of Denmark; his astronomical, or rather astrological observations; his treatise upon the art of war; all written in the Latin language, prove his capacity and erudition.

Catharine, his wife, survived him. She was the daughter of a peasant; and, while an infant, being observed by Eric, he was so struck with her beauty, that he paid great attention to her education, and placed her in the court of his sister Elizabeth. When she arrived at years of maturity she became his mistress, and acquired, in a short space of time, an extraordinary ascendancy over his capricious disposition; an ascendancy derived from the graces of her person and the endowments of her mind; but, according to the prevailing notions of the age, imputed to philters and love potions. His attachment increasing, instead of diminishing, by possession, Eric (frustrated in his hopes of marrying several foreign princesses) at length espoused her after she had borne to him a natural son. During his confinement Catharine gratefully returned his affection with equal esteem and tenderness; and afforded to her unfortunate lord much consolation in his misery. She survived her husband many years; and such was her prudent deportment, that she conciliated the favour of John and Sigismund, from whom she obtained a considerable revenue; and was permitted to pass the remainder of her life in Finland in perfect tranquillity.

Eric left two natural daughters by Agda, daughter of a rich merchant of Stockholm, Virginia and Constantia, both married in Sweden; and by Catharine four children, of whom
only

only Gustavus and Sigrida survived their father: Sigrida ^{CHAP. IX.} espoused count Tott, and her descendants still survive in that illustrious branch.

Gustavus, born in 1568, and declared successor to the Swedish crown, was, upon his father's deposition, imprisoned at Stockholm; and, when Eric was removed to Abo, was inclosed in a sack, and delivered to an officer belonging to the court, who had orders to put him to death, and to bury him at the extremity of the town. As the officer was proceeding, before day-break, to carry his barbarous command into execution, he was observed by a Swedish nobleman, who opened the sack, and discovering the infant, rescued him from immediate destruction. Gustavus, thus preserved, was conveyed from Sweden by the friends of Eric. He received a wandering education *, in the Jesuits convent of Braunsberg, at Thorn in Polish Prussia, and at Vilna, the capital of Lithuania. In these different seminaries he made a considerable progress in literature; and, in particular, distinguished himself so much by his proficiency in chemistry, that he was called the second Paracelsus †. He was no less remarkable for his knowledge of languages, speaking with fluency, beside his native tongue, French, Italian, German, Polish, Russian, and Latin. He was indeed so zealous in the prosecution of his studies, that, on account of his indigent circumstances, after attending the schools by day, he used in the evening to ply at the inns in the lowest capacity, in order to procure a scanty subsistence. His literary acquisitions, however, did not advance his fortune; for he passed a wandering life in the greatest misery; and was reduced to such straits, that he frequently

* Mess. Scand. Illus. Lib. VII. p. 10. Dahlin, IV. p. 158.

† Dahlin IV. p. 157.

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had recourse to charity; and, at other times, earned his livelihood by the meanest occupations *.

His distress was so great, that he even ventured to implore the assistance of his cousin Sigismund, king of Poland and Sweden, who persuaded him to enter into the church, and conferred on him an abbey, from the revenues whereof he subsisted for some time at Thorn. Induced, however, to quit Poland from a suspicion of Sigismund, he accepted the pressing invitations of the tzar Boris Godunof, who offered his daughter Irene in marriage, and his assistance to ascend the throne of Sweden. Gustavus, allured by these promises, repaired in 1599 to Moscow, where he was received with those honours, which, according to the Russian ceremonial, were only paid to sovereign princes. But the tzar soon withdrew his friendship, broke off the intended alliance, and, in 1601, removed Gustavus to Uglitz. It is uncertain whether this change in the tzar's sentiments was occasioned by the refusal of the Swedish prince to embrace the Greek religion; by his unwillingness to enter into hostilities against Sweden, and to dismember Esthonia and Finland in favour of Russia; whether because he appeared a prince of no spirit, and too pusillanimous † to prosecute any enterprize with vigour; or because the contract of marriage between John prince of Denmark and the princess Irene, made his removal

* Messenius says, Tom. VII. p. 10 "Et
" quamvis ob nimiam pusillanimitatem, nec
" sceptro, nec pedito esset ille idoneus tamen
" mediocres in litteris fecit progressus, libris
" annis aliquot indefessus in tanta rerum
" omnium penuria adhærens, ut interdum
" scholas frequentaret, noctu autem in pub-
" licis Turonæ Vilnæque diversoriis, suam
" hospitibus operam in mundandis ocreis,
" phaleris, et curandis equis, locando tenu-

" em victum amictumque sibi compararet."

† Messenius, when praising his piety and charitable disposition, adds, "Tantaque
" fuerit plenus commiseratione, ut nè passe-
" ris quidem, multò minus hominis, intueri
" potuerit internecionem. Hincque plus
" æquo fuerit pusillanimis, quæ submissio
" mentis, non rarò illius posuit fortunæ ob-
" staculum." Sccond. Illust. Tom. VIII.
p. 100.

from

from Moscow necessary. He resided at Uglitz* until the accession of Demetrius, who imprisoned him at Yaroslaf for favouring Charles XI. king of Sweden. He was again released by Vassili Shuiski, upon the assassination of Demetrius, in May 1606, and permitted to reside at Kaslin, where he expired in the following year; but whether by poison, or by a natural death, is not ascertained.

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March 7. Between Westeros and Arboga I changed horses at the small village of Kungfær, where, being tempted by the beauty of the situation, I roved about the environs, and upon the banks of the Mæler. This lake is extremely beautiful; it contains several islands rich in wood and pasture; its shores are hilly, feathered with trees, and diversified with gentlemens seats and farm houses. The lake, at least that part which I saw, was still covered with ice, but no longer capable of bearing carriages. It is usually frozen over during a few weeks in winter; and opens an easy communication, by means of sledges, between these parts and Stockholm.

Kungfær stands upon the mouth of the small river Ulvison, which flows into the western extremity of the Mæler: this stream, which comes from Arboga, helps to form the communication between the lakes Mælar and Hielmar, by its junction with the canal of Arboga.

* The Swedish historians assert, that Gustavus was so attached to his native country, that no motives could induce him to enter into hostilities against it, and that this was the sole cause of his removal. The Russians, on the contrary, affirm, that Boris, finding him a prince without spirit and vigour, readily accepted the offer of the prince of Denmark to marry Irene; and therefore sent Gustavus to Uglitz. The Russian and Swedish historians differ also about his situation. The former say, that Uglitz was granted to him as a fief, and that he resided there in

great state: the latter, that he was treated as a prisoner. Perhaps both are in the right. He might reside in state, and yet be watched as a kind of state prisoner. As a confirmation of this account of the case, Margaret, who was at Moscow at the time, says, "that he was sent in disgrace to Uglitz; but had a revenue assigned to him of £800 per annum." *Etat de la Russ.* p. 96. For the history of this Gustavus, see Dahlin, Vol. IV. passim. Mess. Scand. Ill. passim. Celsius Hist. d' Eric XIV. 245 and 274. Muller S. R. G. V. p. 95 to 101, and 295.

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Near Kungfær there is an old wooden building, or kind of palace, formerly inhabited by the kings of Sweden, with a manage and stables for the royal stud. From Kungfær stretches, about nine miles, almost as far as Arboga, a long narrow plain of rich pasture, which belongs to the king: it is watered by the Ulvifon, and skirted with gently rising hills tufted with wood; produces great quantities of fine hay; and feeds a large number of cattle. I passed, in sight of this small plain, which is scarcely more than half a mile in breadth, through an undulating country, and arrived at the canal of Arboga, which I crossed over a draw-bridge. The following inscription informed me that the canal was begun by Charles XI. and finished under the reign of his son Charles XII.

“Hoc aquarium jussu Augustissimi quondam Suecorum Regis Caroli XI. nunc in coelis beati anno MDCXCI. inauguratum, ultimam manum sceptrā gerente Suevica Augustissimo Carolo XII. feliciter recepit MDCIC.” This canal will be more properly described in this chapter on the inland navigation of Sweden.

Finding little worthy of notice in Arboga, I hastened to Orebro, the capital of Nerike, where I passed the night: it stands near the western extremity of the lake Hielmar; and is the largest town which I visited since I quitted Stockholm. The houses are chiefly constructed with wood; and, though only of one story, are for the most part large and commodious. Upon a small island in the middle of the town, formed by two branches of the Swart, stands the castle, formerly a royal residence: it is an old square building of brick and stone white washed, and is appropriated to the governor of the province. The inhabitants of Orebro send iron, vitriol, and red paint to Stockholm; and the trade which they carry on with that capital across the Hielmar and Mæler, by means of the canal of

Arboga, is very considerable. The town possesses manufactures of fire arms, cloth, and tapestry.

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Upon quitting Orebro, I traversed that part of the province of Nerike, which lies between the lakes Hielmar and Wenner; a fertile district, abounding in corn, pasture, and forest. Towards the close of the day, I entered the province of West Gothland, and passed the night in a peasant's cottage at Hofva, a small place, not far distant from the lake Skager.

March 9. About noon I arrived at Mariestadt, a town built by Charles IX. situated upon the Tidla, a small rivulet, and the lake Wenner. A new prison of brick, stuccoed white, makes a finer appearance than any of the other houses, which are mostly built with wood, and painted of a red colour. From Mariestadt I continued my route, for some time, at a small distance from the Wenner, the largest lake in Sweden, being nearly ninety miles in length, and forty in breadth. Its shores in this part are low and level, so that the view over the surface of the water appears boundless like a sea.

I passed through Lindkioping, the inhabitants whereof carry on a considerable inland trade across the Wenner, and down the river Gotha to Gotheborg. I stopped the night at the small village of Malby, and arrived the next morning at Trolhætta, through an exceedingly dreary country, consisting chiefly of barren heaths, with ridges of rock almost naked, which exhibited few marks of vegetation.

This village, containing scarcely a dozen houses, is situated close to the cataracts of the river Gotha; and is well known, on account of its stupendous works, with a view to open a passage for vessels, by means of a navigable cut, called, from this place, the Canal of Trolhætta.

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This canal forms part of a plan, long projected by the Swedes, to unite the Baltick and the German Ocean by an inland navigation, as well for the purpose of improving the interior trade of the provinces, as of preventing the interruption of their foreign commerce, which is always the consequence of a war with Denmark. For as all vessels sailing out of the Baltick must necessarily pass through the Sound, they are exposed to the Danish privateers, who shelter themselves under the batteries of Elfsinor, which command the passage of that strait, unless a Swedish fleet should ride mistress of the Gulf.

Gustavus Vasa was the first sovereign who saw the utility of such an inland navigation, when he made Lodeſe (now Gotheborg) a staple town of trade, that the merchant ships coming to Sweden might not be obliged to sail through the Sound; and he conceived hopes, that, in some future period, the merchandize might be transported from thence to Stockholm, by means of the Wenner, Hielmar, and Mæler, when the rivers and lakes uniting with them should be rendered navigable*.

Eric XIV. desirous to carry his father's designs into execution, gave orders for surveying the waters communicating with these lakes, and directed plans to be formed for joining them by artificial canals †. But the execution of his great schemes was frustrated by the turbulence and misfortunes of his reign.

Several succeeding sovereigns had this great object in view. Charles IX. promoted it by the Carlſgraf canal; and Charles XI. by that of Arboga. The undertaking, however, of forming a water communication across the whole country, was always considered as a work of extreme difficulty. Mo-

* Dahlin, Vol. III. p. 115.

† Hist. d' Eric XIV.

traye says, that Gustavus Adolphus was inclined to encourage the design, but that no person could be found in Sweden bold enough to engage in the enterprize: he adds, that Charles XI. sent for some Dutch engineers, who, after they had measured the fall of the waters between the Wenner and the Hielmar, declared it to be impracticable. Difficulties, however, insurmountable as they might appear to persons of more sober understanding, were no barrier to the genius of Charles XII. The same author informs us, that the celebrated engineer, Polheim, laid before that king a proposal for rendering the cataracts of Trohætta navigable; and for opening a communication, not only between Gotheborg and Stockholm, but also with the Wenner, the Vetter, and Nordkio-ping, sufficient for the passage of very large vessels *. Polheim's plan was immediately approved, and begun by Charles, fond of extraordinary projects; and, though interrupted for some time by the king's death, was again revived with fresh vigour under the late sovereign Adolphus Frederick.

This plan may be divided into three principal parts:
1. The junction of the Mæler and the Hielmar. 2. Of the Hielmar with the Wenner. 3. Of the Wenner with the German Ocean.

1. Of the junction of the Mæler with the Hielmar. These two lakes are united by the small river Ulvison, and the canal of Arboga. The former rises to the west of Arboga, flows through the town, and falls into the Mæler at Kungfær. The canal of Arboga is cut from the Hielmar, and continued to the Ulvison about half a mile to the east of the town. It was begun in the reign of Christina; but being only calculated for small vessels, was widened and deepened by order of Charles XI. and completed under his successor Charles XII.

* Voyages de Motraye, vol. II. p. 282. 306.

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It belonged to the crown until 1769; at which period it had been so much neglected as to be scarcely of any use; but a company of seven merchants of Orebro undertook to cleanse and repair it at their own expence, upon condition of receiving the toll of all vessels which should pass through it.

The canal is, excepting in a few parts, sufficiently broad to receive two barks a-breast: its lowest depth is 8 feet *. It is chiefly supplied with water from the lake Hielmar, the surface of which is 80 feet perpendicular higher than its level. It consists of eight sluices. The vessels it admits are the same which navigate the lakes; they are decked and single masted; 76 feet long; about 43 tons burden; and draw between six and seven feet of water.

2. In order to join the Hielmar and Wenner, it was proposed to open the navigation of the Swart-an, which falls into the western extremity of the Hielmar at Orebro; to make a cut from that river to the lake Morken; from thence by the Let-an to the Skager; and from the Skager by the Gullspang to the Wenner. Not having myself been in those parts, I could only obtain the most authentick intelligence from persons who have inspected them: from their accounts I have reason to conclude, that the above-mentioned rivers are for the most part so shallow and stony, that it would be extremely difficult and expensive to render them navigable; and as the faint attempts hitherto made upon the Gullspang have all failed of success, it has been proposed to cut a canal directly from the lake Morken to Christianham, which is situated upon the eastern shore of the Wenner. But as no part

* The foot used in this chapter is the English. The proportion of the English Swedish, which differs but little from the being to that of the Swedish as 1000 to 1027.

of this project had been as yet taken in hand, and the whole would be attended with great difficulties; there is little prospect that this branch of the great undertaking, the junction of the Hielmar and Wenner, will ever be completed*.

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3. The junction of the Wenner with the German Ocean comes next into consideration: and this might be accomplished by the river Gotha, which issues from the southern extremity of the lake near Wennerborg, and, after a course of seventy miles, falls into the sea near Gotheborg; provided that river could be made navigable throughout its whole course. But as, on account of shoals and cataracts, its stream is greatly impeded, the communication has been attempted by the Carlsgraf canal, the canal of Trolhætta, and the sluices of Akerstræm and Edit, which, therefore, I shall separately describe.

The channel of the river Gotha not being open and free upon its first issuing from the Wenner, a cut, from a bay of that lake to the river, was begun under Charles IX. but was not entirely completed before the reign of Charles XII. Polheim, whom I have already mentioned, erected, by order of that monarch, a sluice; which, not being constructed upon a firm foundation, was scarcely finished before it was undermined, and carried away by the water. From that time the Carlsgraf canal remained without a sluice, and consequently without a vessel passing it, until the reign of Adolphus Frederick. In 1754 a new sluice was finished, which received the appellation of Tefsin, in honour of the prime minister of that name. It was formed by a subterraneous passage, 40 feet long, 18 broad, and 12 high. But these dimensions were too small

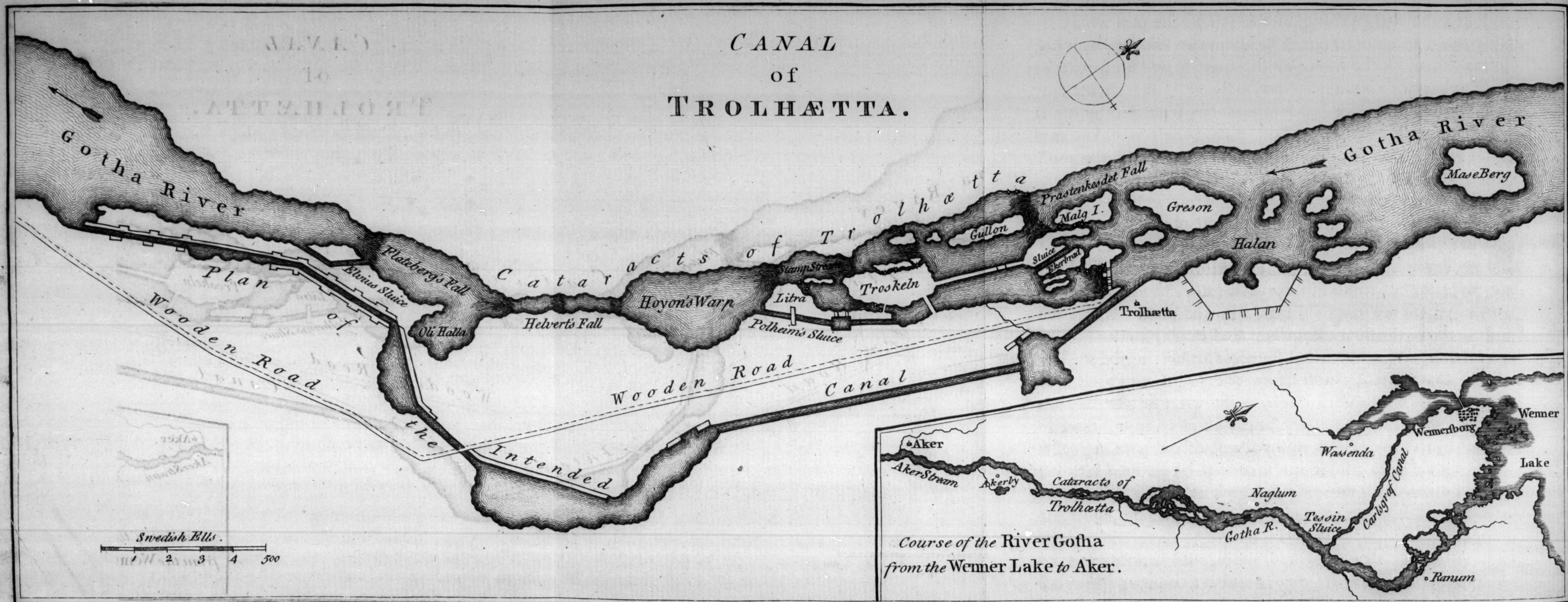
* From the almost insuperable difficulties attending the junction of the Hielmar and Wenner, a plan was projected of forming an inland navigation from the eastern coast of Sweden south of the Mæler, by means of the Wetter to the Wenner; and in 1774 a map was published for the purpose of proving the scheme to be practicable.

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for the admission of vessels of more than 40 tons burden; and it frequently happened that even these could not pass whenever there was either too much or too little water. In relief of these difficulties another sluice, called, in honour of the present king, the sluice of Gustavus, was completed in 1768. This superb work is a cut of 400 feet, (half of which was perforated through the solid rock), and consists of two locks, each 200 feet in length, and 36 in breadth: the sides are strongly faced with brick and stone. The greatest depth of water is 13, the lowest 6 feet. The usual vessels which navigate this canal are of 80 tons burden; but when the water is high, larger may pass: in 1777 one of 133 tons worked its way through.

From the end of this canal to the village of Trolhætta, which includes a space of about five miles, the navigation of the river is uninterrupted: it flows in a gentle current; varies in its breadth from 300 yards to a mile; and is, in a few parts, prettily sprinkled with islands, some whereof are barren rock, others tufted with wood and covered with arable soil.

Near Trolhætta two ridges of mountains, which on each side run at a small distance from the river, approach its banks, and confine its stream in a narrow channel. In this spot it is about 400 feet in breadth, as smooth as a lake, and without any visible stream: a fine contrast to the roaring of the torrent below. This smoothness of the water continues till it bursts at once into the cataracts of Trolhætta, called the Gulfs of Hell, which render all farther navigation impossible. The bed of the river is solid rock; the banks are perpendicular; and, at the beginning of the fall, several granite islands, thinly strewed with underwood, junipers, and stubbed pines,



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T. Kitchen Senr. Sculpt.

piners, rise in the midst of the stream, forming small straits, down which the water dashes with increasing impetuosity. CHAP.
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From the first opening of the fall to the part where the river again becomes navigable is about two miles; but it does not roll through the whole of this space in one uniform sheet of water, or with equal rage and violence. It is divided into four principal cataracts, each whereof is separated by whirlpools and eddies, forming, during the whole way, the most awful scenes, ever varying, and too sublime to be accurately described. The perpendicular height of all the falls, considered as one, is about 100 feet.

From this description the reader will readily conceive the extreme difficulty of rendering these cataracts navigable; and yet it was even through the midst of them that the daring projector attempted to form a canal, by the following works, which are marked in the annexed plan.

Just above the first cataract, called Praestenkesdet Fall, several dams were constructed, which turned the stream, and left the main bed of the river quite dry. In this part some rocky islands were cut through, or blown up; the bed was rendered level, and the cataract nearly turned into still water. To continue the navigation, an island of red granite, called Malg, which rises in the midst of the great cataract, was divided, and a canal formed through it of 340 feet in length, including a sluice of 30: the depth of the fall, and, of course, the depth of the perforated rock, is $23\frac{1}{3}$ feet; the breadth 18. This is called Ekerbrad sluice, and was designed to consist of two locks. At a small distance another canal was formed on the side of the second great cataract, through a kind of promontory which projects into the stream; the solid granite was hollowed 860 feet in length, $56\frac{1}{2}$ in depth, and 18 in breadth. This sluice, called Polheim's sluice, was

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to consist of three locks, by which vessels were to be let down a fall of $56\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

At the distance of 2920 feet, a third cut was made close to Flateberg's fall, terminating in the sluice of Elvius, the last of this projected plan. The length of the cut is 28 feet; the breadth 18; and the depth or height of the fall $34\frac{1}{4}$. In order to form some idea in what manner the navigation was to be continued from the sluice of Polheim to that of Elvius, it will be necessary to give a short delineation of the intervening space.

A little below the sluice of Polheim the river dashes through a narrow pass, called Stampstræm; from thence it gradually widens into a kind of bay, named Hoyon's Warp; it is again cramped into a narrow channel by the nearer approach of the rocks on each side, and forms a cataract, called Helvert's fall; at the extremity of which it expands itself into a small basin, called Oli-Halla; and then again precipitates itself at Flateberg's fall; from whence it becomes navigable. Instead of continuing any works through the cataracts, or by the side of the river, the communication between the sluices of Polheim and Elvius was attempted in the following manner. A dyke of stone was constructed across the river just below Flateberg's fall and the sluice of Elvius, with a view of raising the water 34 feet and $\frac{1}{4}$, turning its course through the sluice of Elvius, and forming a level with the bottom of that of Polheim. This chimerical project, which seems rather too ridiculous to have been seriously entertained, was however attempted. The king himself visited the work, and all Sweden was in eager expectation, that their favourite national hopes would at length be realized. The dyke was built; the river had risen 12 feet of the 34; when, in an instant, the weight of waters burst the barrier too feeble to restrain

restrain them, and swept away, in one moment, the labours and expence of several years *. Large subsidies had been annually raised for the prosecution of the work; and the national bank had readily advanced still greater loans; the sum total whereof has never been divulged. The failure of the project, after such immense labour and enormous expence, occasioned great discontents among the people; many of whom to this day believe, though there seems no foundation for the supposition, that the projectors, bribed by the Danes, purposely proceeded upon a plan which they knew could not succeed. But thus much is evident, that, throughout the whole undertaking, the works, stupendous in themselves, were conducted without reasonable care and attention; for after all, the cuts, which had been excavated with such difficulty, being only 18 feet in breadth, would have been too narrow to have admitted vessels of such size and burthen as usually navigate the Wenner. In a word, several ill-judged measures seem to have been taken; otherwise, although there were many natural obstructions to the success of the enterprise, yet greater obstacles have been surmounted. But Polheim was not a Brindley.

In consequence of this failure, all the works and sluices hitherto raised were neglected as totally useless, and a new plan for the canal of Trolhætta has been projected; according to which, instead of being carried, as before, along the channel of the river, it is to be cut through the solid rock that forms its banks. The plan of this last project is laid down in the annexed engraving. The length is to be 4700 feet, the breadth 36, and the depth in some parts above 50. It is to consist of nine sluices; and when we reflect that the whole

* The immensity of the expence will be best conceived by considering that all the cuts were made through the solid granite, the hardest of all stones.

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of this cut must be hollowed through the red granite, it is evident, that it will be attended with as many, if not more, difficulties than were experienced in the former attempt. It must by no means, however, be condemned as impracticable. The canal of the duke of Bridgewater, that of Languedoc, and the road through the mountain Gemmi in Switzerland, prove that scarcely any thing is impossible to human industry.

The chief question, in this respect, seems to be, whether the enormous expence attending the execution of the work would be compensated by the advantages resulting from its completion. And here, if we merely take into consideration the navigation from the Wenner to Gotheborg, we may venture to decide in the negative. But if we presume, that at any future period the communication should be formed from the Gulf of Bothnia to the Wenner, as in that case the cataracts of Trolhætta would be the only remaining interruption to the inland navigation from the eastern to the western coast of Sweden, the accomplishment of this canal could not surely be obtained at too dear a rate.

His present majesty, who, soon after his accession, visited these works at Trolhætta, wisely ordered them for the present to be suspended; but that the sluices of Gustavus and Aker should be finished without delay. Meanwhile, in order to facilitate the transport of the merchandize from the districts bordering upon the Wenner to Gotheborg, a wooden road has been constructed on the side of the river, from the beginning to the end of the cataracts. It is supported upon posts over the rocks, which, from their irregularity and roughness, would have been almost impassable for horses.

About a mile below the cataracts the course of the Gotha is again interrupted by a fall, called Akerstræm: there a
canal

canal has been made through a rock which projected into the river; the length of it is 182 feet, including the sluice; depth 26; and breadth 36. This cut was begun in 1774; it was far advanced when I saw it, and, it was expected, would be opened in 1781.

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From Akerstræm the river is clear to Gotheborg, excepting at Edit, where its passage is stopped by a bed of rocks rising in the midst of the stream. On one side of these rocks another cut has been made, 600 feet in length, 20 in depth, but only 18 in breadth. The work is ill executed; and, when I was there, was in bad order. A petition had been presented to the king, that it might be repaired and improved to the same breadth as Aker-sluice; and there was no doubt of its being effected.

The iron, and other merchandize, is now transported across the lake to Wennerborg; and from thence through the Carlsgraf canal, and down the river Gotha to Trolhætta. Upon coming to the cataracts, the goods are unloaded, and carried over the wooden road about two miles to the end of the falls. There they are again embarked, and passing through the Akerstræm and Edit sluices, upon a supposition that they are by this time completed, arrive without further impediment at Gotheborg. In return, salt, spices, corn, tea, and other commodities of interior consumption, are sent up by the same channel into the provinces about the Wenner.

CHAP.

C H A P. X.

Gotheborg. — *Its trade.* — *East India Company.* — *Herring Fishery.* — *General remarks on the commerce of Sweden.* — *Journey from Gotheborg to Carlscrona.* — *Cottages, food, manners, &c. of the peasants.*

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THE scenery of the country from Trolhætta to Gotheborg is wild and romantick beyond description. Innumerable ridges of barren rocks stretch in all directions; and between them lie the most fertile plains, which seldom exceed a mile in breadth, watered by the river Gotha: The mountains, which are composed of granite, are entirely destitute of trees, and many of them scarcely exhibit the smallest appearance of vegetation. In this part of Sweden I observed none of those detached fragments of granite, which so abundantly overspread as well many of its inland provinces, as the coast bordering on the Gulf of Bothnia.

In most places the river flows with a gentle current, and in a narrow channel, and is in some parts navigable only for small craft of about 20 tons burden. About ten miles from Gotheborg it divides itself into three branches; two of which unite again after having encircled a small rocky island, upon the top of which stands the fort of Bohus, a picturesque object, much celebrated in the early history of Sweden, and at that time esteemed impregnable. The stream formed by the union of these two branches is called the Northern River, and falls into the sea after a course of about ten miles. The third branch, which I followed to Gotheborg, retains its original name of Gotha: the space included between the
Northern

Northern River and the Gotha is named the island of Hifingen. CHAP.
X.

Gotheborg, which is distinguished by a commodious port, occupies the site of an antient town, named Lodefe, that was built by Gustavus Vasa; and being endowed with considerable privileges, soon became the great emporium for the trade of the western provinces. Charles IX. when duke of Gothland, having, in 1604, laid the foundations of a new town in the island of Hifingen at no great distance from Lodefe, called it Gotheborg, in honour of his dutchy. Upon his accession to the throne, he erected in his new town a trading company; drew there many foreigners, particularly the Dutch, to whom he allowed an exemption from all duties of export and import during twenty years; a corps of English and Scotch troops, under the command of William Stewart; and granted to the Calvinists established therein the free exercise of their religion, the first place in Sweden where this toleration was permitted. By these means Gotheborg soon became a flourishing port*; and, next to Stockholm, the most commercial town in Sweden.

The town, being in 1611 reduced to ashes by the Danes, was rebuilt in the reign of Gustavus Adolphus in its present situation, and obtained a confirmation of its antient rights, with the grant of several additional privileges.

Gotheborg is built in a very singular situation. At a small distance from the sea is a marshy plain, scarcely more than half a mile in breadth, watered by the rivers Gotha and Mol-

* A medal was struck in 1610, comparing this sudden increase of Gotheborg to the growth of a tree from a slip: on one side the king's name and title, with an inscription, "Gotheb. Prin. Fund. & Condit." On the reverse a large tree, from which hang suspended the arms of Gotheborg:

beneath are the river Gotha, and the fortress Elfsborg, with the following motto:

Quæ præbet latas arbor spatiantibus umbras,

Quo posita est primum tempore virga fuit.

Dahlin, Vol. IV. p. 422.

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dal, and almost entirely enclosed with high ridges of rocks, so bare and rugged, that they scarcely produce a single blade of grass, and exhibit as barren an appearance as the summits of the loftiest Alps. Gotheborg stands partly upon the ridges, and partly in the plain; and is divided from these different situations into the Upper and Lower Town. The latter is entirely level, intersected by several canals in the manner of the Dutch towns; and its houses are all constructed upon piles: the upper part hangs on the declivities; and rows of buildings rise one above the other like the seats of an amphitheatre. The whole is regularly fortified; and its circumference is near three miles, exclusive of the suburbs, called Haga, which lie towards the harbour.

The streets are all uniformly straight: a few of the houses are of brick; but the generality are constructed with wood painted red. The harbour is formed by two chains of rocks, and is about a quarter of a mile in breadth. Its entrance is defended by the fort of New Elfsborg, which stands upon a small rocky island, and contains a garrison of 250 men.

There has been lately established at Gotheborg, a Royal Society of Sciences and Literature, upon the plan of that of Upsala. Its acts, which are written in the Swedish tongue and printed in the octavo form, contain various subjects in the several branches of science, natural history, antiquities, history, and polite letters*.

I was informed by a merchant who had resided two and twenty years at Gotheborg, that, during that period, its population has increased considerably, and that it now contains about 30,000 inhabitants. This flourishing state is undoubt-

* At Lund was also instituted, in 1776, a Royal Physiographical Society, which was incorporated by the king in 1778. The subjects treated of in its acts relate only to natural history, chymistry, and agriculture.

edly owing to the extension of its commerce, particularly its East India Company, and the success of the herring fishery. CHAP.
X.

In 1731 a company of merchants was established with the exclusive privilege of trading to the East Indies for 15 years; and after various alterations of their charter, the monopoly was, at the last renewal, confirmed for 20 years, on condition that the company should advance to government a loan of £124,980, one third whereof without interest; and should pay £3,125 for every vessel proceeding on a trading voyage to the East Indies. This company is merely a society of merchants, who send annually two or three vessels to China.

As the port of Stockholm in the Gulf of Bothnia is closed with ice until the season is too far advanced for ships to take their departure from thence to the East Indies, the company carries on its commerce from Gotheborg, whose harbour, being situated in the German ocean, is always open.

The following is the nature of this traffick: Sweden containing little specie, and few manufactures for exportation, the captain of each vessel first proceeds to Cadiz, where he borrows, in the company's name, 100,000 piaftres, at the interest of 30 per cent. he then sails to Canton, and purchases tea, porcelain, and other Chinese commodities, which, upon his return to Sweden, are disposed of to great advantage. The usual net profit upon the whole cargo being 70 per cent; the gain, when the interest is deducted, amounts to about 40 per cent.

In 1740, the herrings, which had hitherto never approached the western shore of Sweden, flocking in shoals to that coast, the inhabitants of Gotheborg established a fishery, which has been attended with considerable advantage. Its increasing produce will appear from the following table:

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In

BOOK VII.		In 1752 it yielded only 1000 barrels* of herrings.							
{	In 1753	-	-	20,766	In 1762	-	-	142,091	
	1754	-	-	52,828	1763	-	-	186,614 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	1755	-	-	74,791	1764	-	-	99,616 $\frac{1}{4}$	
	1761	-	-	117,212 $\frac{1}{4}$	1768	-	-	151,483	

An English consul and several merchants of our nation reside at Gotheborg; and a chapel, with a regular chaplain, is appropriated to their use.

As I did not remain a sufficient time in Sweden to gain accurate and circumstantial information concerning the commerce, I can only add the following particulars in addition to what has been already laid down upon the trade of Gotheborg.

By the navigation act passed in the diet of 1722, foreign vessels are not allowed to bring into Sweden any productions but those of their own countries, or to transport them from one port to another.

The principal exports of Sweden are copper, iron, ordinance stores, masts, planks, pitch and tar, train-oil, alum, pot-ash, salt petre, gunpowder, salt, salted fish, soap, vitriol. Its imports, tin, lead, grain, tobacco, snuff, wines, hardware, silk and filken stuffs, paper, tea and coffee, sugar, spices, drugs, thread, hemp, wool.

Cantzler†, whose accurate account of Sweden cannot be too much recommended to the curious reader, informs us, that of the export trade Stockholm carries on $\frac{7}{13}$, Gotheborg $\frac{2}{13}$, and the other staple towns $\frac{4}{13}$; and of the import commerce Stockholm $\frac{1}{2}$, Gotheborg $\frac{1}{4}$, and the other towns $\frac{1}{4}$.

As the districts which I passed from Upsala to Trolhætta are esteemed the finest and most populous parts of Sweden,

* A barrel contains 1000 herrings.

† Memoires sur les Affaires Polit. et Econom. de Suede, p. 374.

those which I traversed from Gotheborg to Carlsrona through the province of Smoland are said to be the wildest, least inhabited, and the most uncultivated regions of this kingdom. The distance between Gotheborg and Carlsrona is 38 Swedish, or 247 English miles; and in this extent of ground only one place dignified with the name of a town presented itself. The villages, for the most part, consisted of six or seven houses; and sometimes, where I stopped to change horses, I found nothing but a single solitary cottage: yet, along this seemingly inhospitable track, I met with good roads, tolerable accommodations and a cheerful and contented peasantry.

March 15. I quitted Gotheborg, and passed over a succession of barren rocks with few trees, similar to those which stretch along the coasts of the German Ocean near Gotheborg. As I advanced, the country became somewhat more fertile. Hills of granite appeared less frequent, but large masses were scattered over the face of the country. The region which I traversed in this and the following day, though wild, and not capable of much cultivation, was yet infinitely diversified. It was an hilly district, in many parts overspread with forests of pines, beech, and oak, occasionally interspersed with pasture and small plains of arable land, sprinkled with several picturesque lakes, and watered by numberless rivulets, clear as chrystal, and gurgling over their stony channels.

During one part of this day's route I was driven by a peasant's daughter; and as the roads were in many parts exceedingly steep, it required some strength, and much dexterity, to direct the horses, and to prevent the carriage from being overturned; I proposed that my servant, who was an expert driver, should take the reins: the girl, however, offended at my questioning her skill, peremptorily rejected my

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I passed the night at Hunnaryd in a peasant's cottage, and set off early in the morning; but had not proceeded far before I was obliged to stop at Gislavy, to repair a wheel of my carriage: the place contained but one smith, and he had lately become blind; and as none of the wheels in the village would fit the axle-tree, I purchased a new axle-tree and four wheels, for the sum of £1. 16s. upon which the body of my cart being placed, I proceeded on my journey. A little beyond Gislavy, I crossed a rivulet near an iron foundery. The native ore is procured in small round pieces, about the size of pea-shot, from the bottom of a neighbouring lake, and forged into excellent iron.

Soon afterwards, I quitted the mountainous district, and descended gradually into a sandy plain, diversified with woods, lakes, and corn-fields. About seven miles from Vernamo, where I took my station for the night, I again came into a hilly country, and advanced to Wexio, a town seated upon the banks of a pleasant lake, which contained a group of woody islands. The town, though a bishop's see, is exceedingly small: the houses are mostly constructed with wood; the inhabitants chiefly subsist by the traffick in cattle, that graze in the luxuriant pastures, with which the intervals of the most barren mountains and extensive forests are occasionally enriched.

As in the course of this route I constantly took my repast during the day, and passed every night in the cottages, I had frequent

frequent opportunities of observing the customs, manners, ^{CHAP.} and food of the peasants. Upon entering a cottage, I usually ^{X.} found all the family employed in carding flax, spinning thread, and in weaving coarse linen, and sometimes cloth. The peasants are excellent contrivers, and apply the coarsest materials to some useful purpose. They twist ropes from swines' bristles, horses' manes, and bark of trees, and use eel-skins for bridles. Their food principally consists of salted flesh and fish, eggs, milk, and hard bread. At Michaelmas they usually kill their cattle, and salt them for the ensuing Winter and Spring. Twice in the year they bake their bread in large round cakes, which are strung upon files of sticks, and suspended close to the ceilings of the cottages. They are so hard as to be occasionally broken with a hatchet, but are not unpleasant. The peasants use beer for their common drink, and are much addicted to malt spirits. In the districts towards the western coasts, and at no great distance inland, tea and coffee are not unusually found in the Swedish cottages, which are procured in great plenty, and at a cheap rate, from Gotheborg.

The peasants are well clad in strong cloth of their own weaving. Their cottages, though built with wood, and only of one story, are comfortable and commodious. The room in which the family sleep is provided with ranges of beds in tiers (if I may so express myself), one above the other: upon the wooden testers of the beds in which the women lie are placed others for the reception of the men, to which they ascend by means of ladders.

To a person who has just quitted Germany, and been accustomed to tolerable inns, the Swedish cottages may perhaps appear miserable hovels; to me, who had been long used to

had I, however, not in the night in the country I had
monks

places

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places of far inferior accommodation, they seemed almost palaces. The traveller is able to procure many conveniences, and particularly a separate room from that inhabited by the family, which could seldom be obtained in the Polish and Russian villages. During my course through those two countries, a bed was a phenomenon which seldom occurred, excepting in the large towns, and even then not always completely equipped; but the poorest huts of Sweden were never deficient in this article of comfort: an evident proof that the Swedish peasants are more civilized than those of Poland and Russia.

After having witnessed the slavery of the peasants in those two countries, it was a pleasing satisfaction to find myself again among freemen, in a kingdom where there is a more equal division of property; where there is no vassalage, where the lowest order enjoy a security of their persons and property; and where the advantages resulting from this right are visible to the commonest observer.

On the 18th at noon I quitted the province of Smoland, and entered that of Blekinge. As I approached the shores of the Baltick towards Carlscrona, ridges of granite again made their appearance, sometimes bare, sometimes covered with heath, or clothed with forest. About half a mile from Carlscrona we came upon a fine view of that town, standing in an island.

During a fortnight's progress from Stockholm to Carlscrona, through a tract of about 500 English miles, the weather was so clear, dry, and delightful, that I felt no inconvenience from performing the journey in an open cart. There was a gentle frost at night and morning; but the remaining part of the day was cheered with a genial sun. The spring, indeed,

indeed, of that year was remarkably forward and exceedingly mild. The port of Carlscrona, which is frequently closed with ice until the month of April, was open early in March. Usually the peasants of Upland and Westmanland seldom till their lands before April*; but I observed, during my passage through those provinces in the beginning of March, that the husbandmen had already begun to plough the fields, and to sow their barley and oats. The rapid progress of vegetation in these northern regions was extremely visible from the quick shooting of the pasture and young corn, which, though the snow had only been melted three weeks, were in a flourishing state.

I was greatly surprized to find that Sweden would produce sufficient grain for the interior consumption of the inhabitants, if such large quantities were not employed in the distillation of malt spirits. The northern parts of Sweden and Finland produce excellent rye; and the southern provinces yield wheat, oats, and barley. The wheat and rye are sown in the middle of August, and are reaped in the same month of the following year. Barley and oats are consigned to the ground in Spring immediately upon the melting of the snow: the former is cut down towards the end of August; and the oats about the middle of September.

* Am. Acad. p. 372; also Stillingfleet's Tracts, p. 153.

C H A P. XI.

Carlsrona.—*New docks.*—*Swedish fleet.*—*Sailors.*—*Christi-
anstadt.*—*Helsingborg.*—*General remarks on the mode of
travelling in Sweden.*—*Post-horses.*—*Roads.*—*Similarity
between many general expressions in the English and Swedish
tongues.*

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CARLSCRONA derives its origin and name from Charles XI. who first laid the foundations of a new town in 1680, and removed the fleet from Stockholm to this place, on account of its advantageous situation in the center of the Swedish seas, and the superior security of its harbour. The greatest part of Carlsrona stands upon a small rocky island, which rises gently in a bay of the Baltick; the suburbs extend over another small rock, and along the mole close to the basin where the fleet is moored. The way into the town from the main land is carried over a dyke to an island, and from thence along two long wooden bridges joined by a barren rock. The town is spacious, and contains about 18,000 inhabitants. It is adorned with one or two handsome churches, and a few tolerable houses of brick; but the generality of buildings are of wood. The suburbs are fortified towards the land by a stone wall.

The entrance into the harbour, which by nature is extremely difficult from a number of shoals and rocky islands, is still further secured from the attack of an enemy's fleet by two strong forts built on two islands, under the batteries of which all vessels must pass.

During our stay at Carlscrona, we received great civilities, and were entertained in the most hospitable manner by many persons of the first distinction; and had no difficulty in obtaining permission to inspect the dock-yard, and the whole fleet. CHAP.
XI.

Formerly vessels in this port, when careened and repaired, were laid upon their sides in the open harbour, until a dock, according to a plan given by Polheim, was hollowed in the solid rock: it was begun in 1714, and finished in 1724; but, as it was too small for the admission of men of war, it has lately been enlarged, and is now capable of receiving a ship of the first rate. Its dimensions are in length 190 Swedish feet; in depth 33; and in breadth 46. It contains 300,000 cubick feet of water, and is usually emptied in ten hours. Ninety men are employed in pumping at the same time, and are relieved every half-hour by the same number.

This being at present the only receptacle for the repairing of ships, new docks have been begun upon a stupendous plan worthy of the antient Romans. According to the original scheme, it was intended to construct thirty docks, for building and laying up the largest ships, at the extremity of the harbour.

A large basin, capable of admitting two men of war, is designed to communicate, by sluices, with two smaller basins, from each of which are to extend, like the radii of a circle, five rows of covered docks: each row is to be separated by walls of stone; and each dock to be provided with sluice-gates, so as to be filled or emptied by means of pumps. Close to the docks magazines for naval stores are to be constructed, and the whole to be enclosed with a stone wall.

The project was begun in 1757, but was much neglected until the accession of his present majesty, who warmly patronized the arduous undertaking. At the commencement of the works £25,000 were annually expended upon them; which sum has been lessened to about £6,000 per annum; and the number of docks reduced to twenty.

The following was the state of these works in March, 1779.

The first large basin was finished. Its dimensions are 250 feet in length, 110 in breadth, and 32 in depth. The greatest part has been hollowed out of the rock, which was perforated under water, and the excavations filled with gun-powder introduced and exploded through hollow tubes. The rock being thus blown up and removed, the bottom and sides were afterwards smoothed, cemented with puzzulana brought from Naples, and nicely finished to an even surface. Three of the sides are faced with hewn granite; and the fourth is defended from the violence of the waves by a pier of the same material.

The two entrances into the smaller basins were nearly completed, and the sluice-gates, of a singular construction, were building: they are hollow machines, and are so contrived, that, when filled with water, they afford a passage to the ship by sinking, and rise again when emptied. The principle of mechanicks by which they act is somewhat similar to that of the kameels employed in conveying large vessels over the bars at Amsterdam and Peterburgh*. The two smaller basins, formed by excavations of the rock, and of a semi-circular shape, were partly finished.

With respect to the docks, the materials were prepared for their construction; and the rock in some places had been

* See p. 223 of this volume.

blown away, and in others the earth had been removed. The bottom of one was already completed; its shape was elliptical; the platform and lower part of the walls were composed of hewn granite, and cemented with puzzulana; and the stones, upon which the keel of a new ship was to be laid down, were adjusted. It was expected that this dock would be entirely covered in before the end of 1779. It was computed, that one new dock would be annually finished; and that in twenty years this grand undertaking would be carried into execution. The water will be introduced, and pumped out, by windmills, or by hands, as occasion requires.

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The primary view and intention of this grand plan was to obtain dry docks, for the purpose of keeping the whole fleet entirely covered from wind and weather. It has, however, been a question much agitated in Sweden, whether large vessels are not more effectually preserved in water, than when secured in dry docks; a solution of which can only be given by persons well experienced in naval affairs. But should this be allowed, yet these docks will still be greatly serviceable for the construction and repairing, if not for the preservation of ships.

The ships are built at Carlscrona, chiefly by English artizans. Though the provinces of Blekinge and Skone abound with oaks, yet, as there is not a sufficiency for a continued supply, the Swedes procure their ship-timber from Germany. They made their two last contracts with the king of Prussia; the first for 400,000 Swedish cubick feet*; the last for 200,000. The latter were delivered, in 1778, at the rate of 5*s.* 10*d.* per cubick foot. They are supplied from their own territories with masts and deals, pitch and tar, and the greatest part of the flax used in the navy; and manu-

* 1027 Swedish feet = 1000 English feet.

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facture their own ropes and sails from hemp chiefly imported from Riga. They cast their own cannon, and make their own gunpowder with Swedish saltpetre.

The harbour of Carlscrona, in which the Swedish fleet lies at anchor, is large and commodious, with depth of water sufficient for ships of the first rate to carry their lower tier of guns.

Upon paper, the Swedish navy, in 1779, amounted to 30 ships of the line, including those of 40 guns, and 15 frigates, beside gallies, prames, and xebecs. But as several of these vessels were very old and exceedingly out of repair, we could not estimate those fit for service at that period to have been more than 20 ships of the line, and 10 frigates.

Though I was not able to obtain a complete catalogue of the whole navy; yet the following list of all the ships then in commission, and fitting out for a cruise in the Baltick in 1779, the æra of the armed neutrality, will help to supply the deficiency.

Vessels fitting out in March, 1779.

Names.	Guns.	Names.	Guns.
Sophia Magdalena, new	74	Vasa, new	60
Gustavus III. new	74	Upland, stationed at Gotheborg	40
Prince Gustavus	74	Jaramas	40
Gotha Lyon	74	Swart Orn	40
King Adolphus Frederick	70	Illerin, bound to Morocco	36
Frederick Adolphus, new	64	Prince Gustavus, new	32
Sophia Albertina	64	Trolle, in Finland	32
Enigheten	64	Erensvard, in Finland	32
Finland	60		

The seamen belonging to government are registered, and amount to 18,000; of these some receive their pay in money; and others are distributed in the same manner as the national militia, small portions of land in the islands and upon the sea-coast being assigned to them for their subsistence. Of these 18,000 sailors, according to the most favourable accounts,

counts, only about 6000 are reputed to be experienced seamen: the rest are mere peasants. Upon an emergency, the king enjoys the power of pressing sailors from the merchantmen, but only in exchange for the registered seamen.

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At Carlscrona, I rejoined my companions, whom I had quitted at Stockholm, exchanged my open cart for a more commodious vehicle, and continued my journey from thence to Helsingborg, which closes my travels in Sweden. Our route lay through the provinces of Blekinge and Skone. For the first two or three posts the country was hilly and rocky, and covered with forest; afterwards it changed to a level and fertile plain. Our road lay near the shore, and we had many fine sea views, with numerous rocks and small islands scattered in all directions. About twelve miles from the village of Felkinge, where we took our station for the night; we entered Skone, called by foreigners Scania, the most level, the most sandy, and yet the most fertile of all the Swedish provinces. We passed through Christianstadt, a strong fortified town, built in 1614 by Christian IV. king of Denmark, when this province belonged to the Danes; and finally ceded to the Swedes by the peace of Roskild, in 1658. The town is small, but neatly built, and is esteemed the strongest fortress in Sweden. The houses are all of brick, and mostly stuccoed white. It stands in a marshy plain close to the river Helge-a, which flows into the Baltick at Ahus, about the distance of 20 miles, and is navigable only for small craft of 7 tons burden. English vessels annually resort to this port for alum, pitch, and tar. The inhabitants have manufactures of cloth and filken stuffs; and carry on a small degree of commerce.

A little beyond Christianstadt, as we approached the coasts of the sound, the country rose into small inequalities, covered

at

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at intervals with trees : the soil was chiefly sand mixed with vegetable mould. We arrived, late in the evening of March the 21st, at Helsingborg, the place of embarkation upon the sound for Denmark.

Before I conclude my travels into Sweden, I shall throw together a few remarks upon the mode of travelling, and other general heads, which I had no occasion to touch upon in a particular manner.

Travelling in Sweden is perfectly commodious to a person acquainted with the usual method of procuring horses. At the different towns and villages upon the high roads post-horses are not always regularly stationed ; but if the traveller sends forward a peasant to appoint relays, at a certain stipulated place and time, his orders are punctually executed. The neglect of this precaution has caused frequent delays to inexperienced foreigners, as it did to us upon our first arrival in the country ; for we were obliged to wait at each post-house until horses could be obtained from the adjacent villages. The usual practice of supplying post-horses is regulated in a manner very convenient and cheap to travellers, yet extremely burdensome to the natives*.

* Cantzler makes the following judicious remarks upon this subject. In enumerating the obstacles to the improvement of agriculture in Sweden, he mentions, among others, "Les voiturages publics et le transport des voyageurs, à faire tour-à-tour par les payfans assignés aux relais de poste les plus voisins. Ceux-ci sont extrêmement onéreux aux cultivateurs, obligés, chacun au moins trois fois par mois, d'envoyer un valet ou garçon avec un ou deux chevaux à l'endroit de relais, qui leur est assigné, pour s'y tenir une journée entière prêt au transport des postes, sans que les payfans en reçoivent aucune compensation, à moins qu'il ne survienne de voy-

ageur. Cette corvée s'appelle Hollskjuts et il s'y perd chaque fois un jour et demi. Mr. Modeer, secrétaire de la société patriotique, suppose 700 endroits de relais dans tout ce royaume, et sept chevaux journallement assignés à chaque endroit de relais. En ne comptant même que 300 endroits de relais, et 4 chevaux pour chacun, ce qui fait 1200 chevaux par jour, ou 432,000 chevaux par an, à 360 jours, cette sorte de corvées cause pour l'agriculture une perte annuelle de 216,000 journées d'ouvrage à faire par un valet et deux chevaux." See Cantzler's Memoires, &c. p. 202.

All

All persons possessing land of a certain tenure are bound to send one or more horses two or three times in the month to the neighbouring post-house: if they are not wanted, they return, after waiting 24 hours, without any compensation for their labour and loss of time; and, if employed, receive a very inadequate recompence *. I found, indeed, travelling so exceedingly cheap in Sweden, that, during a course of 500 miles, from my departure from Stockholm to my arrival at Carlscrona, my whole expences, including the prime cost of my cart, the hire of post-horses, the gratuities to the drivers, and the accommodations on the road, did not amount to £20, although my Swedish servant occasionally taxed me with want of œconomy. The drivers being the peasants themselves, who usually attend with their own horses, are contented with a small acknowledgement of about 2*d.* or 3*d.* for each post. The horses are small, but lively and active; two were usually the complement for my cart; and they went generally at the rate of six or seven miles in an hour: the postilion never rode, but sat upon a small bench at the extremity of the cart.

The high roads of Sweden wind agreeably through the country, are made with stone or gravel, and are as good as our turnpikes in England; and yet not a single toll is exacted from the traveller. Each landholder is obliged to keep in repair a certain part of the road in proportion to his property; and, for the purpose of ascertaining their respective portions, small pieces of wood, or stone, marked with

* When we first entered Sweden, we only paid 24 stivers = $7\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* for each horse per Swedish mile from the towns, and 12 stivers, or — $3\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* from the villages: this price was so exceedingly low, that at the last diet the states increased it: the new regulation took place on the 16th of March, 1779; from which time 32 stivers = 10*d.* was paid in the towns for each horse for a Swedish mile, and 16 or 5*d.* in the villages. Even according to this advanced price, the highest sum is not quite $1\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and the lowest not a penny, per horse, for an English mile.

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numbers and capital letters, are placed at different distances on each side of the way.

In no kingdom, since I quitted England, have I observed so many seats scattered over the face of the country as I perceived in Sweden, where the gentlemen of moderate fortunes, as with us, are accustomed to reside upon their estates in rural plenty. These seats, being composed of an assemblage of wooden buildings and painted red, make a neat appearance: occupying a large extent of ground, they look at some distance like small villages, and contribute greatly to the ornament of the country; they are most frequent near the lakes, and are not uncommonly situated, in the midst of hanging woods, on broken rocks suspended over the water.

During my progress through this kingdom, I could not avoid being struck with a surprizing resemblance between the English and Swedish languages, not only in single words, but in whole phrases, so that a quick English ear may comprehend many expressions in common conversation. Among other instances of this kind, I heard the postilions cry out, "Come, let us go;"—"let us see;"—"stand still;"—"hold your tongue;"—"go on*." I naturally inquired their meaning of my interpreter, and found that they had the same signification as in our own language. They are for the most part pronounced more like the Scottish† than the English accent; and indeed, in general, the Swedes appeared to me as if they were talking broad Scotch. Nor is this any matter of wonder; for it is probable, that the Scottish mode of speak-

* These words are thus written in the Swedish tongue. "*Kom let ofs go*"—"Let ofs se"—"*Stand still*"—"Hold din tunga"—"*Go on*."

† A Swedish gentleman of my acquaintance made the same remark during a tour in Scotland; that there was a much nearer

resemblance between the Scotch and Swedish, than between the Swedish and English, both in words and general pronunciation. The same gentleman also informed me, that there are several obsolete Swedish words which are very common in Scotland.

ing is the same as was formerly used in England; and that, CHAP.
XI. while we have gradually softened our pronunciation, the Scots have retained it. With respect to the similitude between the Swedish and English tongues *, we may remark, that they are both dialects of the Teutonic or German; and if in pronunciation they resemble more to each other than to their original stock, it is owing to this circumstance, that we are certainly descended from the Swedes and Danes; whose languages are only different dialects; and the old Saxon, which gave rise to the English, was probably first introduced into our island by settlers, or invaders, from these northern kingdoms.

* That the affinity between the Swedish and English languages was more obvious in former times appears from an anecdote mentioned in p. 399 of this volume.

T R A V E L S
I N T O
D E N M A R K.

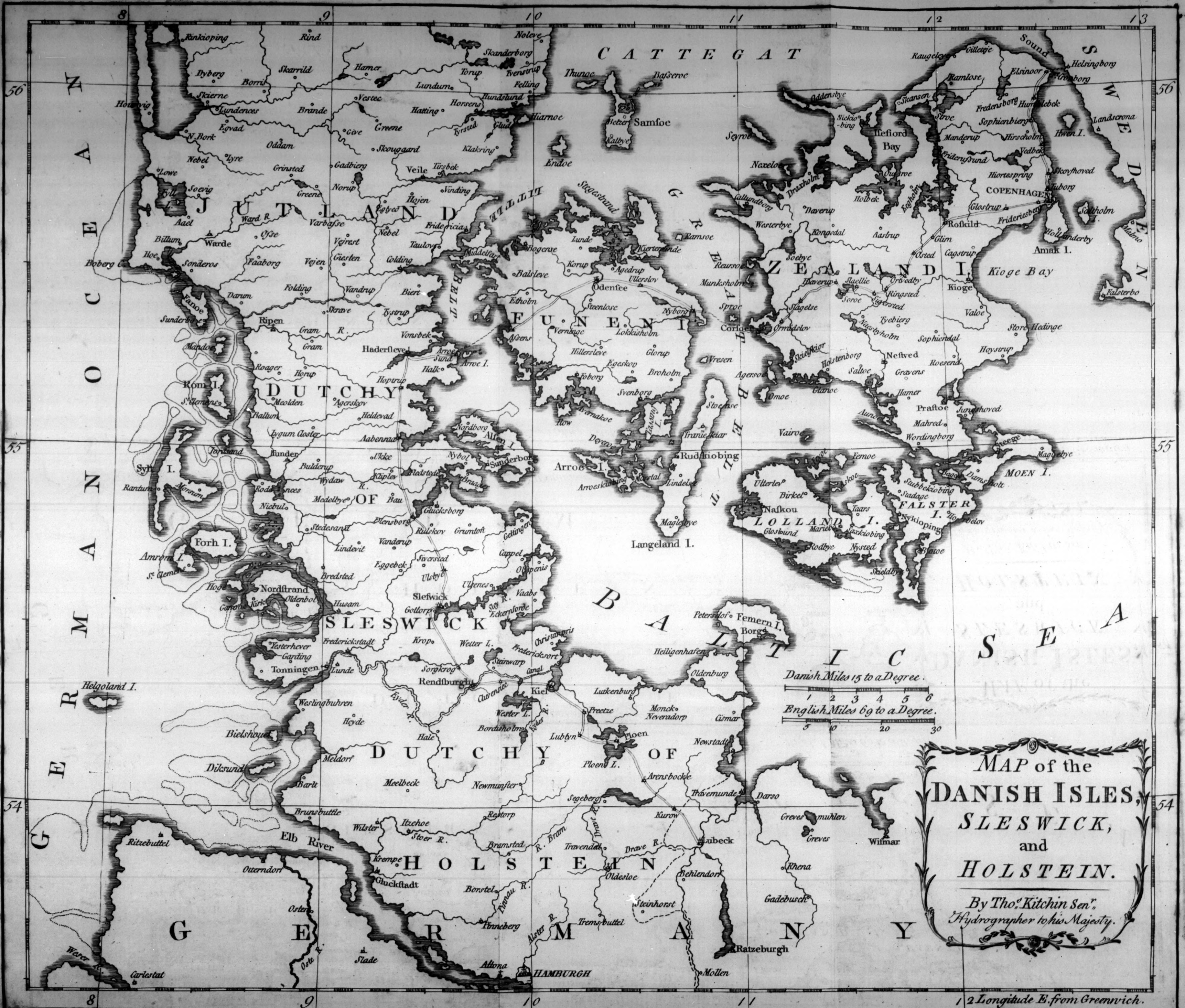
B O O K VIII.

C H A P. I.

Passage of the Sound.—Entrance into Denmark.—Elfinoor.—Toll of the Sound.—Cronborg castle and palace.—Anecdote of queen Matilda.—Hamlet's garden.—History of Hamlet from Saxo Grammaticus.—Copenhagen.—Presentation at court.—Isle of Amack.

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MARCH 22. At Helsingborg we embarked for Denmark, and crossed the Sound, which separates that kingdom from Sweden. The wind blew fresh, and was directly contrary; but by tacking we reached Elfinoor in an hour and an half: the direct distance between the nearest points of the two coasts is about three miles. Midway we had a fine view of the two shores, with the towns of Helsingborg and Elfinoor; the former crowned by an antient tower; the



the latter distinguished by the palace of Cronborg, a less ro-
mantick, but no less beautiful, object. The shores of Swe-
den to the North of Helsingborg are steep and rocky; but
decrease in height towards the south, and become low and
flat. Those of Zealand consist of ridges of sand.

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I.

Elfinoor is a well-built town, and makes a better appear-
ance than those to which we had lately been accustomed: the
houses are of brick, similar to those in the United Provinces.

Elfinoor was a small village, containing a few fishermen's
huts, until 1445, when it was made a staple town by Eric of
Pomerania; who conferred upon the new settlers consider-
able immunities, and built a castle for their defence*. From
that period it gradually increased in size and wealth; and is
now the most commercial place in Denmark next to Copen-
hagen. It contains about 5000 inhabitants, amongst whom
are a considerable number of foreign merchants, and the
consuls of the principal nations trading to the Baltick. The
passage of the Sound is guarded by the fortress of Cronborg,
which is situated upon the edge of a peninsular promontory,
the nearest point of land from the opposite coast of Sweden.
It is strongly fortified towards the shore by ditches, bastions,
and regular entrenchments; and towards the sea by several
batteries, mounted with 60 cannon, the largest whereof are
48 pounders. Every vessel, as it passes, lowers her top-sails,
and pays a toll at Elfinoor. It is generally asserted, that this
fortress guards the Sound; and that all the ships must, on
account of the shoal-waters and currents, steer so near the
batteries, as to be exposed to their fire, in case of refusal.
This, however, is a mistaken notion. On account, indeed,
of the numerous and opposite currents in the Sound, the
safest passage lies near the fortress; but the water in any part

* Messenii Scandia Illustrata. Lib. III. p. 50.

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All vessels, beside a small duty, are rated at $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of their cargoes, except the English, French, Dutch, and Swedish, which pay only one per cent.; and in return, the crown takes the charge of constructing light houses, and erecting signals to mark the shoals and rocks, from the Categate to the entrance into the Baltick. The tolls of the Sound and of the two Belts supply an annual revenue of above £100,000.

The palace of Cronborg, which stands in the fortress, is a square Gothick building of free stone: as appears from an inscription over the gate, it was begun by Frederick II. and has been since repaired and augmented by succeeding sovereigns. It contains nothing worthy of particular description, excepting two good portraits of Frederick II. and his son Christian IV. and several battle pieces representing the wars of the latter, a prince of consummate courage and eminent abilities, the greatest, yet the most unsuccessful, among the Danish monarchs.

In this palace was imprisoned the late unfortunate queen Matilda. During her confinement she inhabited the governor's apartment, and had permission to walk upon the side-batteries, or upon the leads of the tower. She was uncertain
of

of the fate that awaited her; and had great reason to apprehend, that the party which had occasioned her arrest meditated still more violent measures. When the English minister at Copenhagen brought an order for her enlargement; which he had obtained by his spirited conduct, she was so surprized with the unexpected intelligence, that she instantly burst into a flood of tears, embraced him in a transport of joy, and called him her deliverer. After a short conference, the minister proposed, that her majesty should immediately embark on board of a ship that was waiting to carry her from a kingdom, in which she had experienced such a train of misfortunes. But, however anxious she was to depart, one circumstance checked the excess of her joy: a few months before her imprisonment she had been delivered of a princess, whom she suckled herself. The rearing of this child had been her only comfort; and she had conceived a more than parental attachment to it, from its having been the constant companion of her misery. The infant was at that period afflicted with the measles; and, having nursed it with unceasing solicitude, she was desirous of continuing her attention and care. All these circumstances had so endeared the child to her, rendered more susceptible of tenderness in a prison than in a court, that when an order for detaining the young princess was intimated to her, she testified the strongest emotions of grief, and could not, for some time, be prevailed upon to bid a final adieu. At length, after bestowing repeated caresses upon this darling object of her affection, she retired to the vessel in an agony of despair. She remained upon deck, her eyes immoveably directed towards the palace of Cronborg, which contained her child that had been so long her only comfort, until darkness intercepted the view. The vessel having made but little way during night, at day-break she

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she observed with fond satisfaction that the palace was still visible; and could not be persuaded to enter the cabin as long as she could discover the faintest glimpse of the battlements.

It is well known that her majesty resided at Zell, where she was carried off, by a scarlet fever, in the sixteenth day of her illness.

Queen Matilda was naturally of a lively disposition, until her misfortunes brought on a settled melancholy, which preyed upon her mind. In company she endeavoured to dissemble her sorrows, and assume a cheerfulness to which her heart was a stranger. She became extremely fond of solitude; and, when alone, indulged her grief in the most bitter lamentations. She retained, to her last moments, the most unaffected attachment to her children in Denmark: with all the anxiety of a parent she made repeated inquiries after them, and was delighted with receiving the minutest accounts of their health, amusements, and education. Having obtained their portraits from Copenhagen, she placed them in her most retired apartment, often apostrophized them as if they were present *, and addressed them in the tenderest manner.

Adjoining to a royal palace, which stands about half a mile from Cronborg, is a garden, which our curiosity led us to visit, as it is called Hamlet's garden, and is said, by tradition, to be the very spot where the murder of his father was perpetrated. The house is of modern date, and is situated at the foot of a sandy ridge near the sea. The garden occupies the side of the hill, and is laid out in terraces rising one above another. Elsinoor is the scene of Shakespeare's Ham-

received this anecdote from a person at Zell, who had more than once overheard this affecting scene.

let;

let; and the original history from which that divine author derived the principal incidents of his play is founded upon facts, but so deeply buried in remote antiquity, that it is difficult to discriminate truth from fable. Saxo Grammaticus, who flourished in the 12th century, is the earliest historian of Denmark, that relates the adventures of Hamlet. His account is extracted, and much altered, by Belleforest, a French author; an English translation of whose romance was published under the title of the "Hystorye of Hamblet*:" and from this translation Shakespeare formed the groundwork of his play, though with many alterations and additions.

CHAP.
I.

As Saxo Grammaticus is an author whose works are in the hands of but few persons, and as I never met with an English translation, it cannot be unacceptable to give a short sketch of Hamlet's History, as recorded in the Danish Annals†, that the reader may compare the original character with that delineated by Shakespeare.

Long before the introduction of Christianity into Denmark, Horwendillus Prefect, or King of Jutland, was married to Gerutha, or Gertrude, daughter of Ruric king of Denmark, by whom he had a son, called Amlethus, or Hamlet. Fengo murders his brother Horwendillus, marries Gertrude, and ascends the throne. Hamlet, to avoid his uncle's jealousy, counterfeits folly; and is represented as such an abhorrer of falsehood, that, though he constantly frames the most evasive and even absurd answers, yet artfully contrives never to deviate from truth. Fengo, suspecting the reality of his

* The only copy I ever saw of this work is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, in the curious collection relative to the School of Shakespeare, given by the late Mr. Capell to that society. It is in black letter, entitled, The Hystorye of Hamblet; Imprinted by Richard Bradocke for Thomas

Pavier.—The heads of the chapters are given in Mr. Capell's posthumous work, the School of Shakespeare, Vol. III. p. 90; and a few extracts in Malone's Supplement to Johnson's and Steevens's Shakespeare.

† Sax. Gram. Lib. III. and IV.

madness,

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madness, endeavours, by various methods *, to discover the real state of his mind: amongst others, he departs from Elfinoor, concerts a meeting between Hamlet and Gertrude, concluding that the former would not conceal his sentiments from his own mother; and orders a courtier to conceal himself, unknown to both, for the purpose of overhearing their conversation. The courtier repairs to the queen's apartment, and hides himself under a heap of straw †. Hamlet, upon entering the cabinet, suspecting the presence of some spy, imitates, after his usual affectation of folly, the crow of a cock; and, shaking his arms like wings, jumps ‡

* Among other attempts, Fengo orders his companions to leave him in a retired spot, and a young woman is placed in his way with a view to extort from him a confession that his folly was counterfeited. Hamlet would have fallen into the snare, if a friend had not secretly conveyed to him intelligence of this treachery: he carries the woman to a more secret place, and obtains her promise not to betray him; which she readily consents to, as she had been brought up with him from her infancy. Being asked, upon his return home, if he had indulged his passion, he answers in the affirmative; but renders himself not believed by the most artful subterfuges, which, though true, seemed evidently to mark a disordered understanding, and by the positive denial of the woman. "Upon this woman," as Capell observes, "is grounded Shakespeare's Ophelia; and his deliverance from this snare by a friend suggested his Horatio"—"the rude outlines," as Mr. Malone remarks, "of those characters." But in this piece there are no traits of the character of Polonius: there is, indeed, a counsellor, and he places himself in the queen's chamber behind the arras; but this is the whole. The ghost of the old Hamlet is likewise the offspring of our author's creative imagination." See Ca-

pell's School of Shakespeare, Vol. III. p. 20; and Malone's Supplement, p. 353.

† The reader will recollect, that straw used formerly to be spread over the floors as an article of great luxury.

‡ This part stands thus in the English account: "The counsellor entered secretly into the queene's chamber, and there hid himselfe behind the arras, and long before the queene and Hamlet came thither; who being craftie and politique, as soone as he was within the chamber, doubting some treason, and fearing, if he should speake severely and wisely to his mother, touching his secret practises, hee should be understood, and by that means intercepted, used his ordinary manner of dissimulation, and began to come (r. crow) like a cocke, beating with his arms (in such manner as cockes use to strike with their wings), upon the hangings of the chambers, whereby, feeling something stirring under them, he cried *a rat! a rat!* and presently drawing his sworde, thrust it into the hangings; which done, he pulled the counsellor (half-deade) out by the heels, made an end of killing him; and, being slain, cut his body in pieces, which he caused to be boiled, and then cast it into an open vault or privie." Malone's Supplement, Vol. I. p. 357.

upon

upon the heap of straw, till, feeling the courtier, he draws his sword, and instantly dispatches him. He then cuts the body to pieces, boils it, and gives it to the hogs. He then avows to his mother, that he only personated a fool, reproaches her for her incestuous marriage with the murderer of her husband; and concludes his remonstrances by saying, "Instead, therefore, of condoling my insanity, deplore your own infamy, and learn to lament the deformity of your own mind*." The queen is silent; but is recalled to virtue by these admonitions. Fengo returns to Elsinoor, sends Hamlet to England under the care of two courtiers, and requests the king, by a letter, to put him to death. Hamlet discovers and alters the letter; so that, upon their arrival in England, the king orders the two courtiers to immediate execution, and betroths his daughter to Hamlet, who gives many astonishing proofs of a most transcendent understanding. At the end of the year he returns to Denmark, and alarms the court by his unexpected appearance, as a report of his death had been spread, and preparations were making

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I.

* The closet scene, which is so beautiful in Shakespeare's Hamlet, is thus concisely, but not less finely, described by the Danish historian.

"Cumque mater magno ejulatu quæstus præsentis filii socordiam deffere capisset: "quid," inquit, mulierum turpissima gravissimi criminis dissimulationem falso la menti genere expetis, quæ scorti more lasciviens nefariam ac detestabilem thori conditionem secuta viri tui interfectorem pleno incesti sinu amplecteris: et ei qui prolis tuæ parentem extinxerat obscenissimis blandimentorum illecebris adularis. Ita nempe equæ conjugum suorum victoribus maritantur. Brutorum natura hæc est; ut in diversa passim conjugia rapiantur: hoc tibi exemplo prioris mariti memoriam exolevisse constat. Ego vero non ab re stolidi speciem gero, cum haud

"dubitem quin is qui fratrem oppresserit, "in affines quoque pari crudelitate debacchaturus sit: unde stoliditatis quæ industriæ habitum amplecti præstat, et incolumitatis præsidium ab extremâ deliramentorum specie mutuari. In animo tamē paternæ ultionis studium perseverat; sed rerum occasiones aucupor, temporum opportunitates opperior. Non idem omnibus locus competit. Contra obscurum imitemque animum altioribus ingenii modis uti convenit. Tibi vero supervacuum sit meam lamentari desipientiam, quæ tuam justius ignominiam deplorare deberas. Itaque non alienæ sed propriæ mentis vitium defleas necesse est. Cætera filere memineris." Tali convitio lacertam matrem ad excolendum virtutis habitum revocavit, præteritosque ignes præsentibus illecebris præferre docuit."

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for his funeral. Having re-assumed his affected insanity, he purposely wounds his fingers in drawing his sword, which the by-standers immediately fasten to the scabbard. He afterwards invites the principal nobles to an entertainment, makes them intoxicated, and in that state covers them with a large curtain, which he fastens to the ground with wooden pegs; he then sets fire to the palace, and the nobles, being enveloped in the curtain, perish in the flames. During this transaction he repairs to Fengo's apartment, and, taking the sword which lay by the side of his bed, puts his own in its place; he instantly awakens, and informs him, that Hamlet is come to revenge the murder of his father. Fengo starts from his bed, seizes the sword, but, being unable to draw it, falls by the hand of Hamlet. The next morning, when the populace were assembled to view the ruins of the palace, Hamlet summons the remaining nobles, and in a masterly speech, which is too long to insert in this place, lays open the motives of his own conduct, proves his uncle to have been the assassin of his father, and concludes in the following words:

“ Tread upon the ashes of the monster, who, polluting the
 “ wife of his murdered brother, joined incest to parricide;
 “ and ruled over you with the most oppressive tyranny.
 “ Receive me as the minister of a just revenge, as one who felt
 “ for the sufferings of his father and his people. Consider me
 “ as the person who has purged the disgrace of his country,
 “ extinguished the infamy of his mother, freed you from
 “ the despotism of a monster, whose crimes, if he had lived,
 “ would have daily increased, and terminated in your de-
 “ struction. Acknowledge my services; and if I have de-
 “ served it, present me with the crown: behold in me the
 “ author of these advantages; no degenerate person, no par-
 “ ricide, but the rightful successor to the throne, and the pi-
 “ ous

“ous avenger of a father’s murder. I have rescued you CHAP.
 “from slavery, restored you to liberty, and re-established I.
 “your glory; I have destroyed a tyrant, and triumphed over
 “an assassin. The recompence is in your hands; you
 “can estimate the value of my services, and in your virtue
 “I rest my hopes of reward.”

This speech has the desired effect; the greater part of the assembly shed tears, and all who are present unanimously proclaim him king amid repeated acclamations.

Hamlet, soon after his elevation, sails to England, and orders a shield to be made, on which the principal actions of his life are represented. The king receives him with feigned demonstrations of joy, falsely assures him that his daughter is dead, and recommends him to repair to Scotland as his ambassador, and to pay his addresses to the queen Hermetruda. He gives this insidious advice with the hopes that Hamlet may perish in the attempt; as the queen, who was remarkable for her chastity and cruelty, had such an aversion to all proposals of marriage, that not one of her suitors had escaped falling a sacrifice to her vengeance. Hamlet, in opposition to all difficulties, performs the embassy; and, by the assistance of his shield, which inspires the lady with a favourable opinion of his wisdom and courage, obtains her in marriage, and returns with her to England. Informed, by the princess to whom he had been betrothed, that her father meditates his assassination, Hamlet avoids his fate by wearing armour under his robe; puts to death the king of England, and sails to Denmark with his two wives, where he is soon afterwards killed in a combat with Vigletus, son of Ruric. Hamlet, adds the historian, was a prince, who, if his good fortune had been equal to his deserts, would have rivaled

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the gods in splendour, and in his actions would have exceeded even the labours of Hercules*.

The distance from Elsinoor to Copenhagen is about 20 miles; our route lay occasionally by the side of the sea, sometimes through small woods of beech and oak, and at other times through an open country rising into declivities; the soil is sandy mixed with loam, well cultivated, and yields all sorts of grain. The cottages are numerous and neat, built with brick, and many of them white-washed. We had an excellent road, for which convenience we paid several tolls; a tax from which we had been exempted in Poland, Russia, and Sweden. We reached the metropolis towards the close of the evening.

Copenhagen stands upon a small promontory on the eastern coast of the Isle of Zealand; the site is flat, and rather marshy. It formerly belonged to the bishop of Roskild, and was not distinguished by the royal residence until 1443, during the reign of Christopher of Bavaria; since which period it has been gradually enlarged and beautified, and is become the capital of Denmark.

The annual list of births in Copenhagen being, upon an average of several years, estimated at 2830, and of deaths at 2955, we may compute that it contains near 80,000 inhabitants.

Copenhagen is the best built city of the north; for although Petersburg excels it in superb edifices, yet, as it contains no wooden houses, it does not display that striking contrast of meanness and magnificence, but in general exhibits a more equable and uniform appearance. The town is surrounded towards the land with regular ramparts and bas-

* Hic Amlethi exitus fuit; qui si parem fuisset, æquasset fulgore superos; Herculeæ naturæ atque fortunæ indulgentiam expertus virtutibus opera transcendisset.

- References.**
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|--|-------------------------------------|
| a. <i>Frederick's Palace.</i> | m. <i>Frederick's Church.</i> |
| b. <i>Royal Palace.</i> | n. <i>Octagon or Fredericks Pl.</i> |
| c. <i>Warren's Hospital.</i> | o. <i>Garrison Church.</i> |
| d. <i>St. Peter's Church.</i> | p. <i>Christiansburg Palace.</i> |
| e. <i>The University.</i> | q. <i>King's New Market.</i> |
| f. <i>St. Mary's Church.</i> | r. <i>St. Nicholas Church.</i> |
| g. <i>The Royal College.</i> | s. <i>Bremer Hotel Ch.</i> |
| h. <i>Rosenberg Palace & Garden.</i> | t. <i>The Exchange.</i> |
| i. <i>Frederick's Church.</i> | u. <i>The Dock Yard.</i> |
| k. <i>Academy of Royal Cadets.</i> | w. <i>Frederick's Church.</i> |
| l. <i>Frederick's Hospital.</i> | x. <i>St. Saviour's Ch.</i> |

A PLAN of the CITY
of
COPENHAGEN.



Scale of Danish Ells.
1 2 3 4 500 1000
Scale of English Feet.
50 100 200 300 400

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Tho. Kitchen Sen. S. adp.

tions, a broad ditch full of water, and a few outworks : its circumference measures between four or five miles. The streets are well paved, with a foot-way on each side, but too narrow and inconvenient for general use. The greatest part of the buildings are of brick ; and a few are of free-stone brought from Germany. The houses of the nobility are in general splendid, and constructed in the Italian style of architecture ; the palace, which was erected by Christian VI. is a large pile of building ; the front is of stone, and the wings of brick stuccoed : the suite of apartments is princely ; and the external appearance is more grand than elegant.

The busy spirit of commerce is visible in Copenhagen. The haven is always crowded with merchant ships ; and the streets are intersected by broad canals, which bring the merchandize close to the warehouses that line the quays. This city owes its principal beauty to a dreadful fire in 1728, that destroyed five churches and sixty-seven streets, which have been since rebuilt in the modern style.

The new part of the town, raised by the late king Frederick V. is extremely beautiful, scarcely inferior to Bath. It consists of an octagon, containing four uniform and elegant buildings of hewn stone, and of four broad streets leading to it in opposite directions. In the middle of the area stands an equestrian statue of Frederick V. in bronze, as big as life, which is justly admired. It was cast at the expence of the East India Company by Saly, and cost £80,000 sterling.

On the 25th of March we accompanied Mr. Delaval, our minister, to court, and were honoured with private audiences by his majesty Christian VII. the queen dowager Juliana-Maria, her son prince Frederick, and his consort the princess Sophia-Frederica. We were deprived of the honour of paying our respects to the prince royal, as he was

at

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at that time indisposed. During our stay at Copenhagen there were only two publick meetings at court: the company assembled about six o'clock in the evening. At one of these evenings was a concert, in which a Danish translation of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*, with the original musick, was performed. His majesty afterwards sat down to Loo with the queen dowager, prince Frederick, princess Sophia, count Bernsdorff the prime minister, and the Prussian ambassador.

As our stay at Copenhagen was very short, and principally during passion-week, which the natives observe with great strictness, we had not many opportunities of experiencing the hospitality of the Danish nobility, though they were much inclined to honour us with all those marks of attention and civility which are usually paid to strangers. Amongst other instances of politeness, we received an invitation to an assembly and supper from count Molck, who was favourite and prime minister to the late king Frederick V. The count's house, which stands in the octagon, is a magnificent building superbly furnished. He possesses several fine pictures; amongst which I chiefly admired a painting by Nicholas Pouffin, two excellent Vanderwerfs, and a Teniers. His collection of fossils, shells, minerals, and petrefactions, deserves the notice of the naturalist: it is particularly rich in native productions of Denmark; and exhibits many fine specimens of the gold, silver, and copper mines, from Norway; and of lava from Mount Hecla in Iceland.

Among the most curious collections in Copenhagen, the Royal Museum, or Cabinet of Rarities, merits the first place. This collection, which was begun by Frederick III. is deposited in eight apartments, and ranged in the following order: animals; shells; minerals; paintings; antiquities; medals; dresses; arms and implements of the Laplanders. The short
time

time which I employed in examining these apartments did not permit me to take a minute and accurate account of the principal curiosities, which the reader will find described in *Museum Regium Jacobæi*. CHAP.
I.

Part of Copenhagen, which is called Christianshafen, is built upon the isle of Amak, which generally attracts the curiosity of foreigners.

Amak is about four miles long, and two broad; and is chiefly peopled by the descendants of a colony from East Friesland, to whom the island was consigned by Christian II. at the request of his wife Elizabeth, sister of Charles V. for the purpose of supplying her with vegetables, cheese, and butter. From the intermarriages of these colonies with the Danes, the present inhabitants are chiefly descended; but as they wear their own dress, and enjoy peculiar privileges, they appear a distinct race from the natives. The island contains about six villages, and between 3 and 4000 souls. It has two churches, in which the ministers preach occasionally in Dutch and Danish. The inhabitants have their own inferior tribunals; but in capital offences are amenable to the king's court of justice at Copenhagen. The old national habit, brought by the original colony when they first migrated to the island, is still in use amongst them. It resembles the habit of the antient quakers, as represented in the pictures of the Dutch and Flemish painters. The men wear broad-brimmed hats, black jackets, full glazed breeches of the same colour, loose at the knee, and tied round the waist. The women were dressed chiefly in black jackets and petticoats, with a piece of blue glazed cloth bound on their heads. The island is laid out in gardens and pastures; and still, according to the original design, supplies Copenhagen with milk, butter, and vegetables.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

Form of government antiently established in Denmark.—Causes and events which preceded and effected the revolution of 1660.—Change of the constitution from an elective and limited, to an hereditary and absolute, monarchy.

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UNTIL the middle of the last century the crown of Denmark was elective; the supreme legislative authority resided in the three estates of the realm, the nobles, clergy, and commons, assembled in a diet by means of their representatives; and the executive power was vested in the king, and senate composed of the principal nobles.

The king was little more than president of the senate, and commander of the army; the regal prerogative being circumscribed by a capitulation or charter of privileges, which the sovereign signed at his accession.

Although the crown was always continued in the same family, and uniformly conferred upon the eldest son, yet the new prince was constrained to purchase his succession to the throne by the grant of farther immunities.

Such was the state of affairs until the singular revolution of 1660 established, almost without the concurrence of the sovereign, an hereditary and absolute monarchy; exhibiting an instance, which stands unparalleled in the annals of history, of a people, who spontaneously renounced their freedom, and invested their limited governor with the most unbounded authority. The incidents and circumstances which occasioned so surprizing a revolution are too important to be passed over in silence.

Frederick

Frederick III. who, upon the death of his father Christian CHAP.
II.
IV. ascended the throne by the free election of the states, signed a charter of rights, consisting of 54 articles; among which several new privileges were confirmed to the senate, whereby they were enabled to engross nearly to themselves the whole administration of affairs. Frederick possessed in the ordinary occurrences of life a mild and equable temper of mind, acquiescing in every event with perfect composure, and apparently indifferent to ambition or glory. If his dominions had not been invaded by a powerful rival, he would have scarcely been noticed by his contemporaries. But, as during his reign the very being of Denmark, as a kingdom, was at stake, and he was called to action by the most imminent danger which a sovereign could experience, he suddenly surmounted his natural coldness; his mind acquired unusual vigour; and he exhibited proofs of courage, prudence, and perseverance, not inferior to the most consummate heroes of his time. These circumstances served to place his character in an exalted point of view; while, at the same time, his gentleness and moderation prevented the umbrage which is apt to be conceived by a free people against their sovereign. Thus, from being thought incapable of any interested designs, and yet equal to the task of carrying the most adventurous into execution, he became, from the accidental situation of his affairs, the innocent instrument of accomplishing an important revolution, which totally changed the form of the Danish government.

When Charles Gustavus of Sweden broke the treaty of Roskild, which he had just signed, and in 1658 appeared suddenly before Copenhagen at the head of a powerful army, he esteemed himself so secure of success, that he made a present of Zealand to admiral Wrangel; nay, he even publicly

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boasted, that he would unite the three crowns of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, in his own person; and would then march, like another Alaric, into Italy at the head of the Gothick nations. The internal weakness and civil commotion of Denmark seemed almost to justify these proud vaunts: the fate of the whole kingdom depended on the safety of Copenhagen; and yet, such was the deplorable condition of that capital, that Frederick was advised to retire from a place which seemed absolutely untenable, and to make his escape either to Holland or Norway. For the fortifications had been long neglected; it contained a garrison of only a thousand regular troops; had not sufficient provisions to stand a siege; was almost destitute of every means of resistance; and crowded with inhabitants and fugitives of all ranks. But that monarch, of whose military capacity no expectation could be formed, roused by this dangerous crisis of affairs, discovered at once the most undaunted courage: he declared his resolution of defending his capital to the last extremity; and, rather than be a witness to its surrender, of burying himself under its ruins. His conduct during the siege answered these professions; he gave his orders with calmness and intrepidity; he was among the first in all places of danger; and among the last who retreated. His zeal was seconded by the undaunted spirit of his queen Sophia Amelia, princess of Brunswick Lunenburgh*, who, during the whole contest, was indefatigable in animating the besieged; she partook of their fatigues; rode night and day round the ramparts, and observed every occurrence with the vigilance of a centinel, and the coolness of a veteran. The presence and activity of both their sovereigns gave fresh vigour to the garrison and citizens of Copenhagen; they braved every

* Memoires de Terlon, p. 333.

danger,

danger, and even bound themselves, by an oath, to perish CHAP.
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 rather than surrender the capital. Their zeal was still further raised by the policy of Frederick, who extorted from the nobles an increase of the citizens immunities; and passed an edict, signed by himself and the principal senators, permitting them to possess lands, and to enjoy all the rights of nobility. Thus animated and encouraged, the burghers formed themselves into companies, and vied with the regular soldiers in submitting to the rigour of military discipline. In a word, by their invincible spirit Copenhagen held out from the 8th of August, 1658, to the conclusion of the peace, on the 27th of May, 1660, when the Swedish army evacuated Zealand.

Upon the signature of this treaty a diet was summoned at Copenhagen to take into consideration the state of the kingdom, exhausted with debts, and desolated by the miseries of war. The imminent danger which had threatened the ruin of Denmark had no sooner subsided, than Frederick relapsed into his constitutional indolence; and seems, if we may judge from the most authentick accounts, to have had but a small share in the subsequent revolution: it appears, indeed, to have been as casual as it was sudden, the effect only of the imperious conduct of the nobles, of the jealousies and resentments of the other orders, and of the high opinion which the people had conceived of their king, to whom they justly imputed the preservation of Copenhagen, and the safety of the kingdom; while they attributed to the violence and factions of the nobles all the evils which they had lately experienced.

The diet, which was the last ever convened in Denmark, assembled at Copenhagen on the 8th of September, 1660. The nobles, instead of endeavouring to conciliate the other

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orders by a moderate conduct, increased the publick discontent by the most arrogant behaviour. The deputies of the clergy and commons united against them; and the citizens of Copenhagen, who having acquired great credit by the glorious defence of the capital formed a very considerable party, were highly disgusted with them for remonstrating against the immunities granted by the king during the siege. In this state and temper of the parties, when the necessary supplies were brought forwards, the nobles proposed an excise upon all articles of consumption *, and expressed themselves willing to submit to it, although their order was by law exempted from all taxes: they accompanied this offer with a remonstrance to the king, in which they endeavoured, not only to reclaim many obsolete privileges, but to add fresh immunities, and to introduce many other regulations which tended to diminish the royal prerogative, and to check the rising influence of the two estates of the commons and clergy. The proposal of such a tax, and this imprudent remonstrance, excited great heats in the diet; the clergy and commons contended that the offer was insidious, as the nobles would only pay the excise during their residence in the towns, and refused submitting to it while they resided upon their estates. Upon this ground they objected to the tax itself in its present form; nor would admit it on any other condition than that it should be levied equally upon all ranks without any reserve or restriction. The nobles not only persisted in the plea of exemption, but even refused to be subject to it

* All the Danish historians agree in this circumstance, that the nobles offered to tax themselves; therefore Lord Moleworth is wrong, when he says, "the nobility, according to their usual practice, debated how the sums of money requisite might, "with greatest ease and conveniency, be levied upon the commons, without the least intention of bearing any proportionable share themselves." Account of Denmark, p. 32. See Mallet, Hist. de Dannemarc III. p. 446.

for more than three years, under the pretence that every impost was an infringement of their privileges. Being however intimidated by the decisive refusal of the other deputies, they shifted their ground, proposed new duties upon stamped paper and leather; and offered, instead of the excise upon consumption, to pay a poll-tax for their peasants. The clergy and commons at first approved these additional imposts, but afterwards retracted, under pretence that they would not produce a sum adequate to the wants of the nation. It is not certain from what cause this alteration of their sentiments was derived*; whether the taxes would really have been inadequate, or were to be granted for too short a time; or whether, urged by other motives, they were secretly desirous of obtaining more essential and durable advantages against the nobles. Probably all these motives operated upon different persons; but the latter especially seems to have had great influence, because, in lieu of the above-mentioned duties, the deputies proposed that the royal fiefs and domains, which the nobles had exclusively possessed at a very moderate rent, should be farmed to the highest bidders. This proposal irritated the nobles, who justly deemed it an infraction of their dearest privileges; as, by the 46th article of the coronation oath taken by Frederick, the possession of the royal fiefs was guaranteed to their order. In the heat of the contest upon this article, one of the chief senators imprudently threw out reproachful expressions against the commons, which raised such a general ferment in the assembly, that the deputies of the clergy and commons broke up the meeting.

In this struggle the friends of the court began to interpose. It was easily seen that the deputies were so disgusted with the nobles, that they would cheerfully embrace that oc-

* Mallet, p. 447.

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caſion of humbling the whole order; and no way ſeemed more likely to ensure ſucceſs than rendering the crown hereditary, and exalting the regal prerogative upon the ruin of the nobility. They never could expect that ſo favourable an opportunity ſhould again occur; the diet was aſſembled in a fortified town; the citizens were ſtill in arms, and all of them, as well as the garrifon, were devoted to the king.

It is ſcarcely poſſible to trace, at this diſtance of time, all the ſecret ſprings which actuated the deputies upon this extraordinary occaſion. It only appears, from good authority, that the two perſons who had the principal ſhare in the revolution were the creatures of the court; and had, previous to the meeting of the diet, preconcerted ſomething of a general plan of lowering the nobility with a confidential * ſervant of the crown. Theſe perſons were Svane, biſhop of Zealand and preſident of the order of the clergy, and Nanſen, burgomaſter of Copenhagen and ſpeaker of the commons: we have no reaſon however to conclude that they intended to proceed further than to humble the ariftocratical party, and to make ſome neceſſary changes in the conſtitution; but the obſtinacy of the nobles enlarged their views, and induced the deputies, not only to think of rendering the crown hereditary, but of veſting the whole power in the hands of the king. While the deſign was in agitation, Frederick felt, or affected to feel, an almoſt total indifference to the event; and though he expreſſed himſelf inclined to accept the offer of an hereditary ſucceſſion, if it could be obtained by the unanimous conſent of all the eſtates, yet he refuſed to take any active part in the whole proceeding. The queen endea-

* Moleſworth ſays, with Hannibal right, as it is eaſy to ſuppoſe that both were ſeſted, and Holberg with Gabel the king's conſulted on the occaſion. favourite. Probably they were both in the

voured to rouse him from this supineness; but her influence, which had never before been exerted in vain, proved now ineffectual: being not inclined, however, to follow his example, she caballed with the leaders of the clergy and commons; and displayed that spirit of intrigue and daring enterprise, which had so long marked her character in contrast with the mild and passive acquiescence of the king.

Upon the secession of the deputies, which the obstinacy of the nobles had provoked, the hint of rendering the crown hereditary was first suggested by the bishop of Zealand; and when several partizans were gained, a numerous meeting was held at his palace, on the 6th of October, in which the scheme was laid open and approved. The act for declaring the crown hereditary was drawn up, and the best method of publickly producing it was taken into consideration. The mode of proceeding was now concerted between the chiefs of the party and Gabel the favourite of the king, who held a separate conference with the bishop and Nanfen that very afternoon. The whole night and the following day repeated messages passed between some of the deputies and the emissaries of the queen, as the king still continued neutral, and could not be prevailed upon to take any active share in an event which so nearly concerned him.

On the morning of the 8th of October*, the bishop of Zealand, having obtained the consent and signature of the ecclesiastical deputies to the declaration of hereditary succession, delivered it to Nanfen. The latter, in a most persuasive speech, expatiated upon the wretched state of the kingdom, the oppressive power of the nobles, and the virtues of the king; and concluded with exhorting the commons to subscribe the act as the only means of saving their country.

* Holberg, III. p. 479.

Having

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VII. Having first signed it himself, his example was followed by each deputy, without one dissenting voice.

During these intrigues the nobles remained in full security, and without the least suspicion; as the commons had, the same day in which they signed the declaration, debated upon the taxes, and drawn up a remonstrance against the nobles, without any allusion to the more secret transaction.

On the 9th this remonstrance was presented in form to Frederick by the bishop and Nansen; and as they were returning from the palace, they had a violent altercation with the same chief senator who had before offended the commons, and who then threatened them with imprisonment for presuming to approach the king without acquainting the order of nobles. This threat served only to fix them the more firmly in their resolution; and the single circumstance which now remained was, to consult upon the surest means of extorting the assent of the nobles.

Rumours of this project had by this time reached them; but they had scarcely assembled to consider the most efficacious methods of rendering it ineffectual *, before the deputies of the clergy and burghers entered the hall, and, having taken their seats, Nansen, after a short speech, delivered to them the declaration for rendering the crown hereditary in his majesty's family.

The nobles, although they were in some degree apprized that such a measure was intended, were nevertheless thrown into a general consternation by its being communicated to them in so sudden and decisive a manner. Conceiving it, however, imprudent in their present situation to negative the proposal, they endeavoured to gain time, and replied accord-

* Probably on the 10th of October, as Mallet conjectures.

ingly,

ingly, that though they willingly gave their assent to the declaration, yet that, as it was a matter of great consequence, it deserved the most mature discussion. Nansen, perceiving the drift of this delay, answered, that they came not to deliberate, but to act: they had already taken their resolution; they would lose no time in debate; if the nobles refused to concur with them, they would themselves repair immediately to the palace, not doubting but the king would graciously accept their proffered declaration. While this was passing in publick, the nobles had secretly dispatched a message to the king, that they were willing to render the crown hereditary in the male line of his issue, provided it was done with all accustomed formalities; a proposal his majesty rejected as a circumstance not desirable, unless the right of succession was extended to the females also; adding, with great appearance of moderation, that he by no means wished to prescribe rules for their conduct; they were to follow the dictates of their own judgement; as, for his part, he would owe every thing to their free consent, but that he could not accept the offer with the limitation proposed.

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The nobles, who were waiting with anxiety for the return of their messenger, kept the business in suspense by declining their direct assent to the declaration, and proposing a further consideration of the subject; upon this, the other deputies, apprehensive of their secret cabals, and still further exasperated against them for their obstinate refusal of concurrence, quitted the assembly, and repaired in solemn procession to the court, leaving the nobles in a state of irresolution and distraction, more easily conceived than related.

The deputies being admitted to the king, the bishop of Zealand addressed his majesty on the resolution taken by the clergy and commons, offering, in their name, to render the

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crown hereditary, and to invest him with absolute authority; adding, that they were ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of an establishment so salutary to their country. The king, in his answer, thanked them for their favourable intentions; but mentioned the approbation of the nobles as a necessary condition, though he had no doubt of their concurrence when they should have had time to accompany the declaration with all the necessary formalities; he assured them of his protection, promised a redress of all grievances, and dismissed them with an exhortation to continue their sittings, until they should have brought their design to perfection, and he could receive their voluntary submission with all due solemnity.

The reader will observe, with much surprize, that in all the publick occurrences previous to this audience, the only affair apparently in agitation, was to change the form of government from an elective to an hereditary monarchy; no mention had been made of enlarging the powers of the crown, or of the still more extraordinary scheme of making the king absolute. Is it probable, if the nobles had immediately consented to the declaration, that this session might not have taken place? Was there not a medium between hereditary right and arbitrary power! or can we suppose, that, according to the system of the Danish law, the latter was necessarily implied in the former? Something like this, probably, must have been the case, as it is hardly possible to conceive, that when the deputies of the commons and clergy had voted only for the declaration, the bishop of his own accord, should have added the gift of unlimited authority. It often happens that people are more affected by appearances than realities. The bare mention of arbitrary power would have revolted the deputies, while the substance, being included in the popular

pular expreffion of hereditary right, was adopted and paffed without referve. CHAP.
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But to return to the nobles; when the deputies had abruptly quitted the affembly, they could not agree amongst themfelves what plan was to be purfued in this alarming crifis. They were not, indeed, unanimous in their motives of oppofition, being divided into three principal parties*: the firft confifted of thofe who were devoted to the court, and favoured the declaration of the commons; the fecond, of thofe who were confcious that fome change in the conftitution was requifite, but uncertain how far they fhould proceed; the third, by far the moft confiderable in number, was compofed of thofe who feemed determined to affert their own privileges to the laft extremity, and who ftrenuoufly oppofed the leaft alteration. It was no wonder, therefore, that they broke up without coming to any refolution, but put off their final determination to their next meeting in the afternoon.

While they were thus wavering and irrefolute, the court and popular party took the neceffary precautions in order to force them to a concurrence. It was feared that the enterprize might fail of fuccefs, if the nobles fhould refolve to quit Copenhagen, and to break up the diet, from the juft pretence that it was held in a fortified town under awe of a garrifon devoted to the court; and indeed feveral had already made their efcape; and others feemed inclined to follow them.

In confequence of thefe apprehenfions the king iffued orders to fhut the gates of the town; and this spirited meafure had fuch an infant effect upon the nobles, that they abandoned all thoughts of further refiftance, and difpatched deputies to the court, that they were ready to concur with

* Holberg.

the commons, and to subscribe to all the conditions of the royal pleasure *.

Accordingly, on the 16th of October, the estates annulled, in the most solemn manner, the capitulation, or charter, signed by the king at his accession, absolved him from all his engagements, and cancelled all the limitations imposed upon his sovereignty. The whole was finally closed by the publick ceremony of doing homage, and of taking the new oath, which was performed on the 18th. On that day several scaffolds were erected before the palace, adorned with scarlet cloth and tapestry, and furnished with rows of benches; on a platform, more elevated than the rest, were placed two chairs of state under a canopy of velvet for the king and queen, and these scaffolds communicated with the palace by an open gallery. At the appointed time, the citizens of Copenhagen, forming twelve companies, were drawn up on each side of the gallery; the garrison surrounded the platform, and the avenues leading to it; while the regiment of guards secured the rear. At mid-day the king and queen, attended by the royal family, preceded by the nobles, and accompanied by the officers of state, repaired in solemn procession, amid drums and trumpets, to the platform; and when the nobles, the deputies of the clergy, and commons, had taken their places, &c. the chancellor proclaimed †:

“ Since it has pleased the Almighty, by the unanimous and voluntary resolution of the states, that this kingdom should be rendered hereditary in the person of his Majesty our Lord the King, and of his posterity male and female; his majesty, after thanking the states for this proof of their affection and zeal, not only promises to all his good and faithful subjects to govern them as a christian and merciful prince ought to do; but also to establish a form of government, under which they shall be secure of enjoying the same advantages under his successors; and as this unanimous reso-

* Holberg.

† Mallet.

“ lution

“ lution of the states requires a new oath of allegiance, his majesty discharges CHAP.
 “ the states from all those oaths which they had formerly taken; assuring II.
 “ each person in particular of his royal favour and protection.” After which
 all persons who were present took the new oath of allegiance.

“ I A. B. do promise and declare, that I will be true and faithful to your
 “ majesty, as my most gracious king and lord, as also to your royal family;
 “ that I will endeavour and promote your majesty’s interest in all things, and,
 “ to the best of my power, defend you from all danger and harm; and that I
 “ will faithfully serve your majesty, as a man of honour and an hereditary
 “ subject ought to do. So help me God *,” &c.

The revolution being thus accomplished, a new form of government was promulgated, under the title of The Royal Law of Denmark. It consists of 40 articles: the most remarkable whereof are the following †.

“ The hereditary kings of Denmark and Norway shall be in effect, and
 “ ought to be esteemed by their subjects, the only supreme head upon earth;
 “ they shall be above all human laws, and shall acknowledge, in all ecclesi-
 “ astical and civil affairs, no higher power than God alone.

“ The king shall enjoy the right of making and interpreting the laws, of
 “ abrogating, adding to, and dispensing with them. He may also annul all
 “ the laws which either he or his predecessors shall have made, excepting this
 “ Royal Law, which must remain irrevocable, and be considered as the
 “ fundamental law of the state.

“ He has the power of declaring war, making peace, imposing taxes, and
 “ levying contributions of all sorts,” &c. &c.

Then follow the regulations for the order of succession, the regency in case of minority, the majority of the king, the maintenance of the royal family; and, after having enumerated all the possible prerogatives of regal un-
 circumscribed authority, as if sufficient had not yet been laid down, it is added in the 26th article: “ All that we have hitherto said of power and
 “ eminence and sovereignty, and if there is any thing further which has not
 “ been expressly specified, shall all be comprized in the following words.
 “ The king of Denmark and Norway shall be the hereditary monarch, and

* Moleworth.

† Lettres sur le Danemarck. Mallet.

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“endued with the highest authority, insomuch, that all that can be said
“and written to the advantage of a christian hereditary, and absolute king,
“shall be extended under the most favourable interpretation to the heredi-
“tary king or queen of Denmark and Norway,” &c. &c. *.

Upon reviewing the principal circumstances which led to this revolution, we cannot but remark, that the nobles were the victims of their own imprudence and obstinacy. Had they yielded in due time, they might have secured many of their privileges ; but as they did not comply until their concurrence was scarcely necessary, they could not command any compensation for what they could not keep, and surrendered with the most evident reluctance : the deputies of the clergy and of the towns were hurried away by their resentment against that order, whose tyranny they had long experienced, and whose future ascendancy they dreaded ; and they were so warmly animated by their admiration of the king, that they thought no sacrifice too great which could assure him of their confidence, and testify their gratitude. Strange infatuation, that they should discover no means of humbling their oppressors, and securing their own immunities, without the establishment of an absolute government ! Might they not have loosened the king's shackles without tearing them off ! The reserve of the legislative power and right of taxation in the three estates, would sufficiently have secured the freedom of the people, as well against the encroachments of the crown as the insolence of a proud nobility.

But the voice of reason is seldom heard amid the tumult of publick animosities and the uproar of faction. Self-interested and designing persons, who have previously settled their end, and the mode of pursuing it, take advantage of

* The reader will find an abridged extract of the several articles in Molesworth, p. 186 ; and a French translation in Lettres sur Le Dannemarc, p. 118, which translation is also inserted in Mallet's Hist. de Dannemarc, Vol. III. p. 475.

every casual incident; and the generality are blindly led away by their passions to effect what they ever afterwards regret. CHAP.
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“Thus this great affair,” concludes Lord Moleſworth, “was finiſhed, and the kingdom of Denmark, in four days time, changed, from an eſtate little differing from ariſtocracy, to as abſolute a monarchy as any is at preſent in the world.” But theſe expreſſions have been conſidered as too ſtrong by ſeveral of the native hiſtorians; and even one of our own countrymen*, who wrote againſt his account of Denmark by deſire of the Daniſh miniſter, has contradicted his concluſion; becauſe Frederick III. did not abuſe his power, and becauſe he confirmed the privileges to the different orders. But ſurely when the ſovereign, according to the expreſſions of the royal law, is declared “independent upon earth, acknowledging no higher power than God;” “when he has an unlimited authority to make, alter, repeal, and diſpenſe with laws; when he alone can make peace and declare war, form alliances and levy taxes; when, in a word, he enjoys all the rights and prerogatives which an hereditary, abſolute, deſpotick king can enjoy;” what ſignify privileges which he can annul at pleaſure? of what force are laws which he can repeal with a word? Allowing, what is true, the kings of Denmark have ſeldom abuſed their authority; and without pretending to deny that the tyranny of the nobles had riſen to an exceſſive height, we ſurely may conclude, that it would have been happier for the kingdom, if the power of the crown had been in ſome due degree limited, while the rights of the nobles had been qualified, not aboliſhed; and the people continued ſubjects of a limited monarchy, not enſlaved to arbitrary will and dominion.

* King's Animadverſions on a pretended Account of Denmark, in which the author animadvertſ upon ſeveral miſrepreſentations of Lord Moleſworth's.

C H A P. III.

*I. Remarks on the population.—II. Finances.—III. Army.—
IV. Navy.—V. Church establishment in Denmark.*

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I. THE following table exhibits the population in the Danish dominions.

				No. of Inhabitants.	
Denmark.	Diocese of Zealand, including the isles of Zealand, Moen, and Bornholm		—	Inlands.	283,466
	Diocese of Funen, including the isles of Funen, Langeland, Lolland, and Falster		—		143,988
	Diocese of Aarhus		—	Jutland	117,942
	Ditto	Riber	—		99,923
	Ditto	Aalborg	—		80,872
	Ditto	Viborg	—		59,399
	Isles of Feroe		—	—	4,754
Norway	Diocese of Agerhuus		—	—	215,043
	Ditto	Christianfand	—	—	113,024
	Ditto	Berghen	—	—	130,352
	Ditto	Drontheim	—	—	164,722
Iceland.	Diocese of Scalholt		—	—	34,216
	Ditto	Holun	—	—	11,985
Dutchy of Sleswick				—	243,605
Dutchy of Holstein belonging to the king				—	134,665
Dutchy of Glucksburgh				—	10,072
District of Kiel				—	75,000
Number of souls in the Danish dominions				—	2,023,028

II. Finances.—The revenues of Denmark are principally derived from the customs, duties upon exports and imports, excise on provisions and liquors, poll tax*, tax on ranks, on

* The poll-tax takes place only in Denmark: it was at first laid upon the inhabitants of Norway, but has been since abolished, and another impost substituted in its room; the peasants, who are all free in that

kingdom, having considered it as a badge of slavery. The towns of Altona and Bornholm are also exempted from it, upon the payment of an annual compensation.

places, pensions, and perquisites, on marriages *, land tax, quit rents from the royal demesnes, licences on publick houses, privilege of distilling spirits, for leave to hunt and shoot in the royal manors, leases on farms and saw-mills, profits of the mines, stamped paper, duty on snuff, on cards, &c. &c.

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Busching, who, as I am informed from persons well versed in this subject, has given a very accurate account of the Danish finances for the year 1769, informs us, that the gross receipt amounted to £1,252,454. The expences, of which he has also laid down an exact detail, are rated at £936,130; of which sum the army estimates came to £350,000; and those of the navy to £180,000. The debts, in 1771, were only £3,418,009; the interest of which was discharged by an annual payment of £131,392; which must be added to the yearly expenditure †.

III. The army of Denmark is composed, 1. of the troops of Denmark and Holstein; and, 2. of Norway.

1. The forces of Denmark and Holstein are divided into 1. Regulars; 2. National or militia. These forces (the foot and horse guards excepted, who are all regulars) are not separated, as in our army, into distinct regiments, but are formed in the following manner.

* The tax upon marriages, as I am informed, has been abolished since my departure from Denmark; a tax which no wise legislature will ever think of imposing; and if imposed by inadvertence, would take the first opportunity of repealing, as highly detrimental to the real interests of the community. This tax was as equitably laid on in Denmark as so injudicious an impost was capable of being distributed, the peasants and lower class of people being exempted from the payment of it.—“La portion la plus nombreuse,” says the author of Les

Lettres sur le Dannemarc, “et la plus pauvre de la société, les payfans, les matelots, et les soldats, n’y sont pas assujettis: mais si le mariage doit être encouragé par toutes les voies possibles, à plus forte raison mérite-t-il d’être libre de toute charge. Celle qui se paye ici est si modique, qu’elle ne forme pas un grand obstacle à la population.” p. 165.

† For further particulars see Bus. Hist. Mag. XIV. p. 1 to 92. and Erd-bef. Vol. I. p. 143.

To begin with the infantry. Before the late augmentation, every regiment, when complete, consisted of 26 officers, and 1632 privates, divided into ten companies of fusileers, and two of grenadiers. Of these 1632 privates, 480, who are chiefly foreigners enlisted in Germany, are regulars. The remaining 1152 are the national militia, or peasants, who reside upon the estates of their landholders, each estate furnishing a certain number in proportion to its value.

These national troops are occasionally exercised in small corps upon Sundays and holidays; and are embodied once every year, for about 17 days, in their respective districts.

By a late addition of 10 men to each company, a regiment of infantry is increased to 1778 troops including officers. The expence of each regiment, which before amounted to £6000, has been raised by the late augmentation to £8000.

The cavalry is upon the same footing; each regiment consisting of 17 officers, including serjeants and corporals, and 565 privates, divided into five squadrons. Of these about 260 are regular, and the remainder national troops.

The regiments of foot and horse guards are regulars; the former is composed of 21 officers and 465 men in five companies; and the latter of 7 officers and 154 men in two squadrons.

2. The forces of Norway are all national troops or militia, excepting the two regiments of Sundenfield and Nordenfield. And as the peasants of that kingdom are free, the forces are levied in a different manner from those of Denmark. Norway is divided into a certain number of districts, each whereof furnishes a soldier. All the peasants are, upon their birth, registered for the militia; and the first on the list supplies the vacancy for the district to which he belongs. After having served from ten to fourteen years, they are admitted among

among the invalids; and, when they have attained the seniority of that corps, receive their dismissal. These troops are not continually under arms, but are only occasionally exercised, like the national forces of Denmark. A fixed stipend is assigned to the officers, nearly equal to that of the officers in the regulars: but the common soldiers do not receive any pay, except when they are in actual service, or performing their annual manœuvres.

The Academy of Land Cadets, instituted by Frederick IV. supplies the army with officers. According to this foundation, 74 cadets are instructed in the military sciences at the expence of the king.

List of the Danish Army.

Infantry. — Danish and Holstein. —		Infantry of Norway.	
Regulars and militia.		Regiment of Sunderfield, reg.	1376
Foot guards, reg.	486	Ditto of Nordenfield, reg.	1376
Danish royal regiment, mixt	1778	First reg. of Agerhuus, national	1956
Norway ditto, mixt	1778	Second ditto, nat.	1956
King's ditto, mixt	1778	First ditto Smaalchen, nat.	1800
Queen's ditto, mixt	1778	Second ditto, nat.	2082
Prince Royal's ditto, mixt	1778	First ditto Drontheim, nat.	2082
Prince Frederick's ditto, mixt	1778	Second ditto, nat.	1916
Jutland ditto, mixt	1778	Third ditto, nat.	2089
Oldenburg ditto, mixt	1778	First ditto Oplande, nat.	2075
Bornholm ditto, mixt	1778	Second ditto, nat.	1916
Sleswick ditto, mixt	1778	First ditto of Bergenhuus, nat.	1916
Holstein ditto, mixt	1778	Second ditto, nat.	1916
Falster ditto, mixt	1778	First ditto Verterbeck, nat.	1916
Moen ditto, mixt	1778	Second ditto, nat.	1916
Delmenhorst's ditto, mixt	1778	Corps of light troops, nat.	960
		Regiment of artillery, mixt	2771
Total of Danish and Hol- stein Infantry	25378	Corps of engineers, reg.	34
		Total of Infantry of Norway	31053

BOOK	Cavalry Danish and Holstein.		Cavalry of Norway.	
VIII.	Horſe guards, regulars	161	First regiment of dragoons, nat.	1168
	Royal Danish regiment, mixt	582	First ditto of Sundenhof, nat.	1168
	Norway ditto, mixt	582	Second ditto, national	1167
	First regiment of Zealand, mixt	582	Third ditto, nat.	1079
	Second ditto, mixt	582	Regiment of Nordenhof, nat.	1079
	Of Jutland, mixt	582		
	Funen, mixt	582	Total of Cavalry	10478
	Sleſwick, mixt	582	Total of Infantry	56431
	Holſtein, mixt	582		
			Total of the Danish troops	66909

IV. Navy. From their infular ſituation the Danes have always excelled as a maritime people. In the earlier ages, when piracy was an honourable profeſſion, they were a race of pirates, and iſſued from the Baltick to the conqueſts of England and Normandy. And though, ſince the improvement of navigation by the invention of the compaſs, other nations have riſen to a greater degree of naval eminence, ſtill, however, the Danes, as they inhabit a cluster of iſlands, and poſſeſs a large tract of ſea-coaſt, are well verſed in maritime affairs, and are certainly the moſt numerous, as well as the moſt experienced, failors of the North. During my ſtay at Copenhagen I viſited the dock, and inſpected, with great attention, the fleet at anchor in the harbour. The following reſult of my enquiries, upon the ſtate of the Daniſh navy, is here laid before the reader.

The expence of building the hulk amounts to £200 per gun, and to £1000 when the veſſel is completely rigged, and ready to ſail, with four months' proviſions. The greateſt part of the oak is procured from Germany by contract with the king of Pruſſia*.

All the cannon, ſhot, anchors, and iron work, are caſt in Norway. The Danes procure flax, hemp, and maſts from

* Holſtein produces oaks, but not a ſufficient quantity; and they are preſerved in caſe of extreme neceſſity,

Russia, and pitch and tar from Sweden: they have manu-
factures of cordage and sails, but not sufficient for the use of
the fleet: the overplus is obtained from Russia and Holland.

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The greatest part of the Danish navy is stationed in the harbour of Copenhagen, which lies within the fortifications: the depth of water being only 20 feet, the ships have not their lower tier of guns on board, but take them in when they get out of port. Beside large magazines, each vessel has a separate store-house, on the water's edge, opposite to which she is moored when in harbour, and may by this means be instantly equipped.

The number of registered seamen are near 40,000, and are divided into two classes; the first comprizes those inhabiting the coasts, who are allowed to engage in the service of merchant-ships trading to any part of the world. Each receives 8s. annually from the crown as long as he sends a certificate of his being alive; but is subject to a recall in case of war. The second comprehends the fixed sailors, who are constantly in the employ of the crown, and amount to about 4000, ranged under four divisions, or 40 companies: they are stationed at Copenhagen for the ordinary service of the navy; and work in the dock yard. Each of them, when not at sea, receives 8s. per month, beside a sufficient quantity of flour and other provisions; every two years a complete suit of clothes; and every year breeches, stockings, shoes, and a cap. Some of them are lodged in barracks. When they sail their pay is augmented to 20s. per month. The marine artillery consists of 800 men, in four divisions.

Lift

List of the Danish Navy in 1779.

SHIPS OF THE LINE.

	Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.
1	Christian VII.	90	Copenhagen	1767.
2	Superb	80	Ditto	1768.
3	Sophia Frederica	74	Ditto	1775.
4	Justitia	74	Ditto	1777.
5	Vandal	70	Ditto	1742. For parade
6	Queen Louisa	70	Ditto	1744.
7	Copenhagen	70	Ditto	1744. Condemned
8	Queen Juliana	70	Ditto	1752. Ditto
9	Prince Royal	70	Ditto	1756.
10	Denmark	70	Ditto	1757.
11	Jutland	70	North Sea	1760.
12	Prince Frederick	70	Copenhagen	1761.
13	Oere-Sund	70	Ditto	1766.
14	Northern Lion	70	Ditto	1765.
15	Elephant	70	Ditto	1769.
16	Oldenburg	60	Ditto	1740. Condemned
17	North Star	60	Ditto	1746. For parade
18	Zealand	60	Ditto	1750. Ditto
19	Neptune	60	Ditto	1750. Ditto
20	Storman	60	Ditto	1751. Ditto
21	Iceland	60	Ditto	1751. Ditto
22	Victory	60	Ditto	1754.
23	Princess Sophia Mag- dalena }	60	Ditto	1763.
24	Princess Wilhelmino	60	Ditto	1764.
25	Danebrog	60	Ditto	1772.
26	Holstein	60	Ditto	1772.
27	Wagria	60	Ditto	1773.
28	Infoeds Retten	60	Ditto	1776.
29	Ditmarssen	50	Ditto	1742. Condemned
30	Delmenhurst	50	Ditto	1743. Ditto
31	Ebenezer	50	North Sea	1758.
32	Nettleblad	50	Copenhagen	1746. Condemned
33	Funen	50	Ditto	1746. Parade
34	Greenland	50	North Sea	1756.
35	Sainte Croix	50	Ditto	1758.
36	Mars	50	Copenhagen	1760.
37	Sleswick	50	Ditto	1766.
38	Disco	44	Ditto	1778.

FRIGATES.

FRIGATES.

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	Names.	Guns.	Station.	When built.
1	Pearl	34	Copenhagen	1772.
2	Kiel	36	Ditto	1775.
3	Bornholm	36	Ditto	1774.
4	Moen	36	Ditto	1777.
5	Croneborg	34	Ditto	1776.
6	Christiania	34	Ditto	
7	Dockin	24	Ditto	1750. Parade
8	Moen	28		1752.
9	Blue Eagle	30		1753. Parade
10	Savage	18		1754. Parade
11	Christianborg	34	North Sea	1758.
12	Sea Horse	18	Copenhagen	1758.
13	Langeland	18	Ditto	1758.
14	Falster	30	Ditto	1760.
15	Syren		Ditto	
16	Tranquebar	34	Ditto	1761.
17	Alfen		Ditto	
18	Christiania	30	Ditto	1766.
19	Feroe	34	Ditto	1766.
20	Sanroe	22	Ditto	1770.
		Swivels.		
	Eagle Royal Yatch	26	Ditto	1756

Bomb Ketches.—Bravery ; Serious ; Comet ; Courage ; Dragon.

Recapitulation : 38 ships of the line, including 9 of fifty guns and one of 44, and 20 frigates ; but if we except those which are condemned, and those which are allotted only for parade, we cannot estimate that, in 1779, the fleet consisted of more than 25 ships of the line, and 15 frigates fit for service ; a number, however, fully adequate to the situation of Denmark ; and, if we include the excellence of the sailors, it must be esteemed as complete a navy as any in the North.

A ship of 90 guns, with its full complement, carries 850 men ; of 70 guns 700 ; of 64 guns 600 ; of 50 guns 450 ; and a frigate of 36 guns 250. Most part of this fleet is generally moored at Copenhagen, except four or five ships of the line in the ports of Norway ; a frigate stationed off Elsinoor ; another lying off the isle of Funen ; and a smaller vessel upon the Elbe ; beside a frigate or two which annually make a cruize.

The year 1779 being celebrated for the rise of the armed neutrality, the northern powers sent out naval armaments: that of Denmark, which was fitting out in the spring of that year, consisted of ten ships of the line, four frigates, and two sloops of 20 guns; and the expence of the equipment was chiefly supplied by an additional duty of one per cent laid upon all imports, and half per cent upon exports. For the manning of this fleet 1000 fixed sailors were selected, 3500 registered from the country, and 1000 marines.

The chief nursery * for the officers of the navy is the Academy of Marine Cadets, instituted by Frederick IV. in 1701. The foundation is for 60 cadets, who are maintained and instructed in the theory of navigation at the expence of the crown. Every year they make a cruise on board of a frigate. Beside the original number, other youths are admitted into this academy, under the name of volunteers, at their own expence.

V. The established religion of Denmark is the Lutheran. The hierarchy consists of 12 bishops, or superintendants; six in Denmark, four in Norway, and two in Iceland. There is no archbishop; but the bishop of Zealand, who is first in rank, and the bishop of Aggerhuus, are metropolitans.

The annual revenues of the sees are as follow. In Denmark: Zealand £1000; Funen £760; Aarhus £600; Aalborg £400; and Ripan £400. In Norway: Christiana, or Aggerhuus, £400; Christiansand £600; Berghen £400; and Drontheim £400. In Iceland: Skalholt £150; and Holun £150. These two last bishopricks, although far inferior in nominal value to the former, are, if we take into consideration the cheap manner of living in Iceland, perhaps, equal in real profits to the largest of the others.

* Lettres sur le Dannemarc, p. 10.

The other clergy are provosts or archdeacons, parish-<sup>CHAP.
III.</sup>priests, and chaplains. Each diocese is divided into a certain number of districts, over which the provosts have the inspection, and each district into parishes. A large parish, beside the principal church, has one or more additional chapels of ease. The parish-priests receive their salaries principally in glebe, tithes, and surplice fees; and in some places from the voluntary contributions of their parishioners. The profits vary in the different parts according to the cheapness of provisions and other incidental circumstances. In Denmark the livings seldom exceed £400, or fall short of £60 per annum, Jutland excepted, in which peninsula there are a few scarcely worth £20. In Norway the highest may be rated at £200, and the lowest at £60. In Iceland some parishes scarcely bring in £3 or £4 a year. A clergyman's widow usually receives the whole profit of her husband's cure for the year immediately following his decease; and a pension from his successor, amounting to the eighth of the annual income.

C H A P. IV.

University of Copenhagen.—Royal Academy of Sciences.—Royal Society for the improvement of Northern history and languages.—Latin schools in the Danish dominions.—Researches into the origin and progress of Icelandick literature.—Flora Danica.—Oeder and Muller.—Regenfuss on shells, &c. &c.

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COPENHAGEN contains, among other literary institutions, an University, and an Academy of Sciences. The former was founded, in 1479, by Christian I. and has since been augmented and amply endowed by his successors; amongst whom Christian VI. was its greatest benefactor. Under that monarch the university was newly modelled, and several regulations established, which were calculated for the encouragement and diffusion of general learning. It has a very considerable fund; the professors have liberal salaries; and many students are instructed gratis.

The Royal Academy of Sciences* owes its institution to the zeal of six literati, whom Christian VI. in 1742, ordered to arrange his cabinet of medals. These persons occasionally meeting for that purpose, extended their designs; associated with them others who were eminent in several branches of science; and forming a kind of literary society, employed themselves in searching into, and explaining the history and antiquities of their country. The count of Holstein warmly

* Lettres sur le Dannemarc, Vol. II. p. 53. The count of Holstein was the first president; and the six persons who first formed the design, were John Gram, Joachim Frederick Ramus, Christian Louis Scheid, Marc Woldikey, Eric Pontopidan, and Bernhard Moelmann. See Scripta a Soc. Haf. Edita. V. I.

patronized

patronized this society, and recommended it so strongly CHAP.
IV. to Christian VI. that, in 1743, his Danish majesty took it under his protection, called it the Royal Academy of Sciences, endowed it with a fund, and ordered the members to join to their former pursuits, natural history, physics, and mathematics. In consequence of the royal favour, the members engaged with fresh zeal in their pursuits; and the academy has published 15 volumes of transactions in the Danish language, some whereof have been translated into Latin.

About the same period a society for the improvement of northern history and languages was instituted by a few persons, at the head of whom was Langebek, who has since greatly distinguished himself for his historical publications. These persons contributed to a collection of manuscripts, books, coins, and other literary curiosities; and even advanced a sum of money to support the expence of their establishment. Many new members being admitted, Christian VI. with his usual zeal for letters, constituted it, in 1746, a Royal Society, and assigned an apartment in the palace of Charlottenburgh for the place of meeting. This society has proved itself not unworthy of the royal protection, having put forth several publications, containing historical details, titles, documents, diplomes, rare manuscripts and charts, which tend to throw light upon the annals of Denmark.

Beside the universities of Copenhagen and Kiel, there is an academy at Soroe, and two gymnasia at Odensee and Altona, and a seminary for Laplanders at Berghen in Norway. There are various Latin schools maintained at the expence of the crown: 19 in Denmark Proper, 4 in Norway, 11 in Schleswick, 16 in Holstein, and 2 in Iceland. The largest schools have a *rector*, or upper-master; a *corrector*, or lower-

master; and two or three *collegæ scholæ*, or assistants: the smallest have only a rector. The salaries of the masters vary from £60 to £200 a year.

Each parish also is provided with two or three schools for the Danish tongue; where children are instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetick. These country schoolmasters have in general a salary of about £12 per annum, a house, and a few other advantages.

I must also mention two schools at Copenhagen for the children of the nobility and gentry, who are unable to bear the expence of a proper education. One is for boys, and the other for females. That for boys is under the direction of professor Treschow, chaplain of the garrison-church at Copenhagen, a gentleman of considerable erudition, who, considering it as an act of charity, receives no recompence for his trouble. An inspector has £60 per annum. The day-scholars pay only £6 a year, and the boarders £20: they learn history, geography, and arithmetick; are instructed in the articles of their religion; and have masters for the German, French, and English languages.

In general the Danish literati have particularly turned their researches upon the history and antiquities of the North; on which subjects many curious works have been already printed, and more are still preparing for publick inspection. Among those who have greatly distinguished themselves in this branch of learning, must be mentioued the names of Meursius, Holberg, Olaus Wormius, Pontopidan; and lately those of Langebek, Schoening*, and Suhm.

Among

* Langebek, who, among other learned publications, has put forth "*Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Ævi*;" printed at the king's expence, was a native of Jutland, and born in 1710; and, after a life

devoted to the pursuits of learning, died about 1776.

Schoening, the learned editor of *Snorro Sturlensis Historia*, and many other interesting works, was born at Schatnæs in Norway,

Among the performances lately put forth on these topicks, CHAP.
IV. those in the Icelandick tongue deserve particular notice; as they tend to throw considerable light upon the antiquities, history, and mythology of the northern nations; Iceland being in the remote ages, while Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, were in a state of perpetual warfare, the sole refuge and repository of Northern literature. Upon observing such a number of Icelandick manuscripts as are contained in the Danish libraries, I was greatly astonished to find that Iceland, which was considered by the antients as the *Ultima Thule*, or the extremity of the world, and by us as scarcely habitable, abounded in learning and science, at a time when Europe was involved in darkness. I was anxious to make some inquiries upon this subject, and the result of them is here communicated to the reader.

It does not appear from history at what time Iceland was first peopled; when it was occupied by a colony of Norwegians in the latter end of the 9th century, it contained but few inhabitants, who were supposed to have originally arrived there from England or Ireland, but whose number was inadequate to resist the invaders. Afterwards occasional emigrants landed at different parts from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark; and the original inhabitants were soon lost amid the swarm of the new settlers, who introduced the worship of Thor and Odin, and all the rites and customs which at that time prevailed among the nations of the neighbouring continent. Their language was the old Gothick or Teutonick, the vernacular tongue of the Swedes, Danes, and

Norway, in 1722, and died in 1778. The curious reader, who is desirous of further information on this subject, will find an ample detail of the lives and writings of these two indefatigable antiquaries in the Pre-

faces to the 4th and 5th volumes of the *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*, which publication is continued by Mr. Suhm, with the same diligence and accuracy that distinguished the judicious Langebek.

Norwegians,

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Norwegians, before it branched into the several dialects since spoken by the natives of those three kingdoms; and on account of their insular situation, it was preserved pure for a very considerable time. Their alphabet was composed of the Runic characters, only sixteen in number; yet, it is to these Icelanders that we are indebted for almost all the historical monuments of the northern nations now remaining*. From them sprung the Scalds, those ancient bards who have transmitted, in their historical poems, the principal events which happened in these remote quarters of the world, from the arrival of Odin to the introduction of Christianity; a period of barbarism and ignorance, which, without their labours, had been totally unknown to posterity. Although these Scaldick odes blend occasionally historical events with improbable narratives, yet, as intelligent criticks may separate facts from fable, and truth from fiction, and as they are the only sources of information relative to the early affairs of the North, they must be considered as very valuable monuments of antiquity. Add to this, that the recital of these compositions, at publick entertainments, before the princes whose deeds they celebrated, and who, as well as many other persons present, were well acquainted with the subject of the poem, affords a collateral proof of their authenticity†.

* Speaking of the Icelandick writings, the editor of *Kristni Saga* says, "Habemus enim irriguos illos fontes, unde religionis, poeseos, imo incunabulorum gentis nostrae notitia manat, decantatissimas nempe Eddas, &c. Habemus integros et plenos codices historiarum, quæ circa heroica versantur tempora."

† Snorro Sturleson, who drew from these Scaldick Odes many materials for his *Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, thus speaks of them.

"Præcipue carmina sumus secuti, quæ

"coram ipsis principibus aut eorum filiis sunt decantata, vera reputantes omnia, quæ istis in carminibus de eorum gestis aut bellis memoriæ sunt prodita. More quidem Skaldis est receptum, præcipue laudare, cui ministrant. Ast nemo facile auderet, coram ipso principe, laudes et facta cantare, quæ tam ipse quam alii præsentibus scirent mera esse figmenta. Hoc dedecori non laudi esset." See Preface to Schoening's Edition of Snorro Sturleson, p. 12. note.

A few of these odes were written in Runic characters *, CHAP.
IV. the far greater part, however, were consigned only to memory; but no sooner was the christian religion introduced into Iceland, about the latter end of the 9th century †, than the Runic letters were exchanged for the Roman alphabet; schools were founded; the love of science, which had in some degree maintained itself, even when the inhabitants were in a state of paganism, revived with fresh vigour; many antient poems were collected; many chronicles digested into a regular form; and the very traditions of pagan theology rescued from oblivion. The Icelanders are known to have possessed several historians, long before a single annalist appeared among any of the nations from whom they were descended. Their authors Islief, Are, and Sæmund, who flourished in the 11th century, preceded Saxo Grammaticus and Sueno, the earliest of the Danish, Swedish, or Norwegian writers.

It would be an interesting speculation in the theory of mankind if it could be accounted for, “how it came to pass, “that a people, disjoined from the rest of the world, few in “number, depressed by poverty, and situated in so unfavour-

* “Though we have no reason to believe they were cut upon stones, as was practised among us (no Runic stones having been found there whose age reaches to the times of paganism); they used, however, to scratch them on their bucklers, and sometimes on their cielings and walls; and the *Laxduela Saga* makes mention of one Olof of Hiardarhult, who had a large house built, on the beams and rafters of which remarkable stories are said to have been marked, in the same manner as Thorkil Hake cut an account of his own deeds on his bedstead and chair.” Letters on Iceland, p. 158.

† In the *Kristni Saga*, the Introduction of Christianity into Iceland is thus related.

“Thorwaldus, a person of some distinction in Iceland, the inhabitants of which were all idolaters, happening to travel through Saxony, commenced acquaintance with a certain bishop, whose name was Fredrick; and being instructed by him in the Christian doctrines, was baptized. He then prevailed upon the bishop to return with him to Iceland, in order to convert the natives to Christianity. And as the bishop was ignorant of the language, Thorwaldus, receiving instruction, preached to the people, and many were baptized. This event, which laid the first foundation of the Gospel in Iceland, happened in the year 980.” See *Kristni Saga*, p. 3, &c.

“able

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“able a climate, should be capable, in those dark ages, of
 “manifesting such a taste for literature. Were we better
 “informed of certain particulars relating to the state of the
 “North during those remote ages, we might possibly find the
 “cause of this phænomenon, either in the poverty of the
 “inhabitants of Iceland, which drove them to seek their for-
 “tunes in the neighbouring countries; or in the success of
 “their first bards at foreign courts, which excited their
 “emulation, and at the same time prepossessed strangers in
 “their favour; or, lastly, in the nature of their republican
 “government, in which the talent of oratory, and the repu-
 “tation of superior sense and capacity, are the direct roads to
 “dignity, respect, and preferment *.”

To these causes may perhaps be joined the political tran-
 quility of Iceland, which remaining unshaken amid the civil
 commotions that convulsed the neighbouring nations, its
 inhabitants had sufficient leisure for literary occupations;
 and some may also be induced to add, the nature of their cli-
 mate, which obliged them to seek for some relief against the
 tediousness of the long nights and continued darkness †.

But to return to the Icelandick authors. The most antient
 historian was Islief, bishop of Skalholt. This writer was son
 of Gissur Albus, a person of great distinction in Iceland, and
 descended from the antient kings of Denmark, who consider-
 ably promoted the reception and establishment of Christia-
 nity. Islief was born in 1006; and, having received the
 first rudiments of learning from his father, was sent, about
 the 16th year of his age, for the purpose of completing his
 education, into Saxony, and made rapid advances in several

* Nor. Ant. Vol. I. p. 392.

† *Ipfi in defossis specubus secura sub altâ
 Otia agunt terrâ —*

Hic noctem ludo ducunt. Virgil, Georg. III. 376.

branches of knowledge*. Being ordained priest, he returned to Iceland, and fixed his residence at Skalholt, where his father had erected a church; and preached the Gospel with a most fervent and persuasive eloquence. Isleif was the first native bishop of Iceland: he was raised to that dignity in the 50th year of his age, at the request of the inhabitants, by particular desire of the emperor Henry III. and during the pontificate of Leo IX. He was consecrated by the archbishop of Bremen, on the 6th of January, 1056, and returning the same year to Iceland, fixed the see at Skalholt, where he continued until his death, which happened in 1080, in the 75th year of his age. Isleif is described as a person of a dignified aspect, affable, just and upright in all his actions, liberal and beneficent, though, from the narrowness of his income, he was frequently exposed to extreme penury. The fame of his learning and piety was so widely diffused, that many foreign bishops visited Iceland, for the purpose of receiving his instructions; and his memory was so highly revered among his countrymen, that his name was esteemed synonymous to sanctity and erudition.

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He was married to Dalla, daughter of Thorwaldus, by whom he had three sons, all of whom were celebrated for their talents and knowledge; but particularly Gissur, who succeeded his father in the bishoprick, and in his zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, and the promotion of learning. Isleif guarded against the decline of literature in Iceland, by assiduously instructing many pupils, some of whom became eminently distinguished; and two were advanced to the episcopal dignity. He was well versed in the history of the North; and compiled several annals, which, though now lost,

* This account of Isleif I have extracted from *Kristni Saga*, p. 106 to 109, 130 to 141. *Hungurvaka Saga*, p. 13 to 25.

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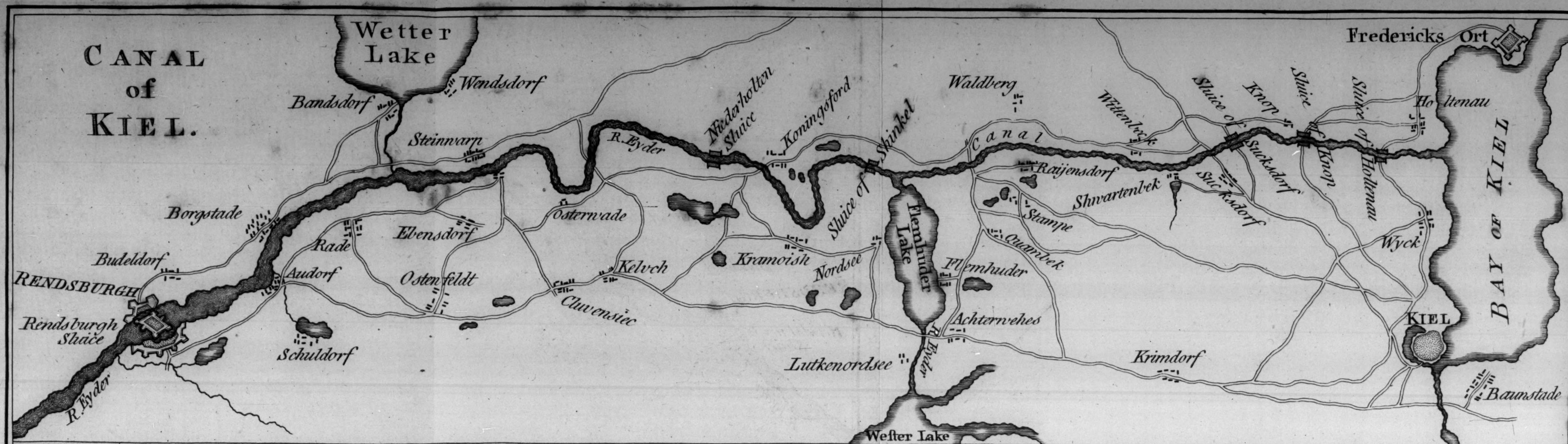
furnished materials for the chronicles of the earliest Icelandick authors, whose works are at present extant. I allude to Are, surnamed the Sage, who was educated by Teitus, son of Isleif; Sæmund Sigfurfson, for his great erudition denominated Polyhistor; and Snorro Sturleson, styled by his learned editor the Herodotus of the North; all of whom immediately succeeded Isleif, and wrote on the history of Norway.

Many subsequent annalists made their appearance, of whom it would be superfluous to give an account. Several of these writings, composed in the Icelandick tongue, have been given to the publick, some printed in Iceland*, others in Sweden; but the greatest part in Denmark, accompanied with Swedish, Danish, or Latin translations†. The most important of these publications is a folio edition of the above-mentioned chronicle of Snorro, printed at Copenhagen in 1778. It is accompanied with a life of the author, from which it appears, that he was born in 1178; that he received his education, and completed his studies in Iceland; that he was chief magistrate of the country; and that he was killed in an insurrection in 1241, in the 63d year of his age. His biographer says, that he was an excellent poet, an accurate historian, and a skilful lawyer, that he was a proficient in the Greek and Latin tongues, and not ignorant of mathematicks and mechanicks‡. From his chronicle Torfæus, the late annalist of the North, has chiefly drawn the materials for his

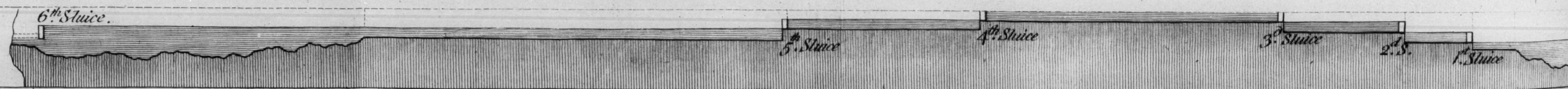
* Van Troil informs us, that printing was introduced into Iceland, by John (or Jonas) Areson, bishop of Holun; that John Mathieson, a Swede, was the first printer; and that the first book was the Breviarium Nidarosense, printed in 1531 at Holun. He adds, that new types were brought thither in 1574; and that the Icelandick Bible was printed in 1584. See Letters on Iceland, p. 182.

† For a list of the Icelandick authors, see Preface to Annales Biornornis de Skardsa, p. 5. North. Ant. I. p. 52, & passim. Letters on Iceland, Letter XIV. The library of the British Museum contains about 180 Icelandick manuscripts. See Ayscough's Catalogue of the manuscripts of the British Museum, p. 890.

‡ Preface, p. ix.



PLAN of the CANAL of KIEL, which joins the NORTHERN SEA and the BALTIC.



Published March 26. 1784 according to Act of Parliam.^t by T. Cadell in the Strand.

T. Kitchen Sen.^r Sculp^r.

History of Norway; and he acknowledges himself indebted to Snorro more than to any other writer. CHAP.
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From the 14th century, history and letters gradually declined in Iceland, and that island was involved in the same darkness which had for some time overspread Europe. The reformation, which was introduced in the middle of the 16th century, occasioned the revival of science. Although there never have been wanting among the inhabitants men of considerable learning, yet, as knowledge has widely diffused itself in Sweden and Denmark under the protection of their sovereigns, these kingdoms have become greatly enlightened; and Iceland is no longer, what it was formerly, the sole repository of northern genius*.

Although the Danish literati have directed their chief attention to history and antiquities, yet they have by no means been deficient in the study of nature.

The late Frederick the 5th king of Denmark, a munificent patron of the sciences, founded, about the year 1751, a botanical garden at Charlottenburgh, intended principally to facilitate a royal and liberal design of giving a complete history, and engravings, of all the native plants in the Danish dominions†.

The superintendance of this garden, with a stipend annexed, and afterwards the professorship of botany in the Royal Academy of Copenhagen, were conferred on Mr. Oeder, who was chosen to conduct the work. In prosecution of this design, having, at the king's expence, visited various parts of Denmark and Norway, he began the publication in 1762.

* I am chiefly indebted for information upon the literary history of Iceland to Mallet's North. Antiq. translated by Dr. Percy, bishop of Dromore. Von Troil's Letters on Iceland, translated by Forster, Torfæi Hist. Norw. Snorro Sturlensis Hist. Regum

Norw. and the several publications of the Icelandick writers printed at Copenhagen.

† This account of the Flora Danica, and of Messrs. Oeder and Muller, was chiefly communicated to me by Dr. Pulteney, to whom I have been so repeatedly obliged.

The Flora Danica was intended to contain, in the folio form, figures of all the indigenous plants of Denmark, Norway, those of the duchies of Sleswick and Holstein, and of many from Iceland; a tract of country extending more than 16 degrees, between the 54th degree of latitude and the North Cape.

A history of all these plants, to be published in octavo, was also promised, but this part of the plan has not yet been completed.

Of this Flora Danica, a number, or *fasciculus*, containing 60 plates, was intended to be annually published, and the first came forth in 1762: but, according to the usual fate of periodical undertakings of such considerable extent, a variety of causes has, at different times, retarded its regular progress; infomuch, that the 15th *fasciculus* only, completing the number of 900 plates, or 5 volumes, made its appearance in 1782.

This work may be purchased either coloured or plain. The names of the plants are not engraved on the plates; neither from the nature of the subject could any regular method, or system, be observed in the publication.

The plants are separately figured; each engraving contains one plant only, except in those of the class Cryptogamia, where, in some instances, several are given in the same plate.

Prefixed to each *fasciculus* is a nomenclature, with the Linnæan names, and a few select synonyms, and an account of the places of growth. As often as the size will admit, the plant is exhibited in its natural magnitude; in others, a branch only; and, in most instances, the parts of fructification are separately delineated: an article indispensable to botanical accuracy.

In

In some of the larger plants, beside the branch of the natural size, the whole is given on a reduced scale ; but it must be confessed, that this part of the design is the least meritorious : happily it does not often occur.

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The 12th *fasciculus*, in 1777, was accompanied with an index of all the plants already engraved, or intended to be contained in this work ; by which it appears, that the whole number will nearly amount to 1800 species ; of which more than 570 are of the class Cryptogamia ; or that which contains the ferns, mosses, algæ, and fungi. And, that any curious persons, yet unacquainted with this work, may judge how far it might be subservient to their knowledge of English botany, it may be added, that, out of 980 species already figured in the 15 first *fasciculi*, more than 700 are also spontaneously produced in Britain.

Magnificent and accurate as this work is, and though carried on at the king's expence, truth will not be offended by asserting, that the execution of it is still inferior to a performance of the same kind, now publishing in England, at the risk of an individual. I allude to Mr. Curtis's *Flora Londinensis* ; which, for the magnitude of the plates, the nice discrimination and figures of the fructification, has not been paralleled by any other publication of such scope and design ; nor is the merit of the *Flora Londinensis* confined to the accurate elegance of the plates : it contains a minute description of each plant, and is enriched by scientifick, useful, and œconomical observations, either extracted from the best writers, or derived from the extensive knowledge of its author. It is but justice to add, that the minute plants of the class Cryptogamia, in the delineation of which the *Flora Danica* is extremely deficient, are figured with the utmost exactness by Mr. Curtis, who has introduced to the English botanist

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tanist five new species of *agarici* *. Every lover of science must join in wishing, that the *Flora Londinensis* may meet with all that encouragement which is due to a work that will honour the age and the nation in which it appears.

Christian Oeder, to whom, through the liberality of his monarch, we are indebted for the *Flora Danica*, was the pupil and friend of the celebrated Haller, under whom he was educated at Gottingen. It appears, by Dr. Nugent's account of Oeder †, that he visited England in his younger days, and had acquired a great knowledge of the language. Whilst he was a student at Gottingen, he translated all the English treatises from a Latin edition of Dr. Mead's works, which Haller published in 2 vols. 8vo. in 1748.

The succeeding year he took his doctor's degree in physic, and wrote, on that occasion, a thesis, which Haller calls "*Docta Dissertatio contra revulsionem & derivationem.*"

In the year 1752, at which period he was settled at Copenhagen, the Royal Academy of Sciences at Gottingen named him a correspondent member; and soon after he was made superintendant of the botanical garden at Copenhagen, and professor of botany.

In 1752 Oeder presided at the publick disputation of Dr. Peter Ascanius, and took that occasion to write on irritability: a subject on which the experiments and observations of his great master had drawn the attention of anatomists and physicians.

Having performed many journies, accompanied by a draughtsman, into the different provinces of Denmark, and collected great materials for the intended *Flora*, he published

* *A. Ostreatus; Lycatilis; Glutinosus; Floccosus; Velutipes.*

† See Nugent's Travels through Germany, Vol. I.

in 1762 the first *fasciculus*; and in 1764, as a part of his ^{CHAP. IV.} plan, his Elements of Botany, in 8vo. This work exhibits a profound knowledge of his subject; and the author has given the outlines of a new method of arrangement, adapted only to the plants of Europe. The second volume of the Elements was printed in 1766, and is embellished with fourteen excellent plates, explanatory of the technical part of his subject. His system was intended to comprize eight classes, under the following titles. 1. *Cryptantheræ*; 2. *Monocotyledones*; 3. *Amantacæ*; 4. *Incompletæ*; 5. *Calycarpæ*; 6. *Calycantbemæ*; 7. *Monopetalæ*; 8. *Polypetalæ*.

Of this system the author has only exemplified the first class, which he published in a separate volume in 1770, in 8vo, and in which are methodically arranged 1239 species, with the specifick names from Dillenius, Haller, and Linnæus.

It is greatly to be regretted, that this ingenious naturalist has been called from the paths of science by an appointment to an office in the treasury, where he has showed himself no less qualified to excel in the civil line.

Upon the publication of the 11th *fasciculus* of the Flora Danica, in 1775, the further prosecution of the work was committed to the care of Dr. Otto Frederick Muller, a gentleman who has since given to the publick several valuable specimens of his knowledge in natural history; particularly a curious work under the title of *Historia Vermium*; another under that of *Zoologiæ Danicæ Prodromus*; and is now engaged, under the highest patronage, in publishing the figures of all the rarer animals of the kingdom of Denmark, under the title of *Zoologiæ Danicæ Icones*, of which two *fasciculi* have made their appearance.

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In speaking of the publications on natural history, it would be unpardonable to omit mentioning the most splendid work of the kind every produced in any nation. It is a collection of rare shells, in two volumes, folio, engraved and coloured by Francis Michael Regenfuss, at the royal expence. The first volume, which is the only one I have seen, contains a short account of the collections of natural history, and particularly of shells, in Denmark; a preliminary discourse on conchology, with a detail of the several authors who have written on the subject, and their different systems, and 78 complete and delicately coloured figures, in 12 plates, accompanied with scientifick descriptions in the Latin, French, and German languages*.

The kings of Denmark have occasionally deputed, and still continue to send, at their expence, men of learning through their own territories, and into various parts of the world, for the purpose of extending the bounds of knowledge.

Langebeck travelled through the Danish dominions, and into Sweden, with a view to collect documents, charters, and other state papers, relative to the antient history of the North; and Schoening for the same purpose at the expence of prince Frederick. Among others now employed in the execution of the same royal plan, Dr. Moldenhauer, a gentleman of various and profound erudition, has lately visited England and France, and is now in Spain, in order to examine the libraries for manuscripts in oriental and classical learning.

But the literary expedition, which reflects the highest honour upon the crown of Denmark, and holds up an example to be imitated by the other sovereigns, was begun in 1761, under the auspices of Frederick V. who, at the suggestion of

* Choix de Coquillages Gravées.

the late count Bernsdorf, dispatched four persons* eminently versed in different branches of science to Arabia; of which curious and interesting journey Niebuhr, the only survivor, has published a much esteemed account†.

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* Frederick Christian Haven for Oriental languages; Forskall and Dr. Cramer for natural history; Niebuhr for history and geography; they were accompanied by a draughtsman.

† Beschreibung von Arabien; Reise Beschreibung nach Arabien, &c. in 3 vols. This work has been translated into the French language. Description de l'Arabie. They departed from Copenhagen in 1761.

C H A P. V.

Departure from Copenhagen.—Journey through the Isle of Zealand.—Roskild.—The cathedral.—Sepulchres of several sovereigns of Denmark.—Tombs and characters of Harald Blaatand.—Sweyn II.—Margaret of Valdemar.—Christian I.—Genealogical tables of the kings of Denmark.—Saxo Grammaticus.—Royal sepulchres at Ringsted.—Passage across the Great Belt.—Isle of Funen.—Odenfee.—Tombs and characters of John and Christian II.—Passage across the Little Belt.—Journey through Slesvick and Holstein.—Canal of Kiel.—General remarks on the circular ranges of stones frequent in Sweden and Denmark.

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APRIL 5. Upon quitting Copenhagen, we passed along an excellent road, through a well-cultivated open country, to Roskild, formerly the royal residence and the metropolis of Denmark. It stands at a small distance from the bay of Ifsefiord; and, in its flourishing state, was of great extent, comprizing within its walls 27 churches, and as many convents*. Its present circumference is scarcely half an English mile, and it contains only about 1620 souls: the houses are of brick, and of a neat appearance. The only remains of its original magnificence are the ruins of a palace, and the cathedral, a brick building with two spires, in which the kings of Denmark are interred. According to an inscription in the choir it was founded† by Harald VI. who

* Holberg, Vol. I. p. 618.

† Little of the original building now remains. According to Holberg, it was

constructed of wood, and afterwards built with stone in the reign of Canute.

is styled king of Denmark, England, and Norway. Some CHAP.
V. verses, in barbarous Latin, obscurely allude to the principal incidents of his life; adding, that he built this church, and died in 980 *. This Harald, surnamed Blaatand, was son of Gormo III. called the Old; and was the first king of Denmark who embraced the Christian religion. His name occurs in the old Saxon Chronicles as one of the invaders of England in the 10th century, where he established his authority over the kingdom of the East Angles, and of Northumberland. But his history is so mixed with fable, that glaring contradictions appear in almost every incident. He lost his life in consequence of an insurrection headed by his son Sweyn; but whether he was slain in battle, or by order of the rebel party, is not known. Harald was father of a line of kings, who raised the power of Denmark to the highest greatness. His son Sweyn I. is well known in our annals for his depredations upon the coast of England, and his tributary exactions; and his grandson Canute the Great, who united, in his person, the crowns of England and Denmark, was the most powerful prince of his time. The immediate descendants of Harald Blaatand died, and were buried, in England; and his male line was extinct in the person of Hardicanute, the last sovereign who wore the two crowns.

In the same cathedral rest the remains of Sweyn II. the first of a line of sovereigns, called the Middle Race. He was son of Ulf, governor of Denmark, who had greatly signalled himself in war, and of Estrida sister of Canute the Great. Ulf being put to death at Roskild, by order of Canute, Sweyn fled into Sweden; and, upon the death of Hardicanute in

* Funditus hæc Jovi summo tunc condidit ædes,
Post natale Dei, dum scripsimus octuaginta
Nongentos, meruit scandere celsa poli.

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1042, claimed the crown of Denmark in right of his mother; for which reason he is generally known by the appellation of Sweyn the son of Estrida. The states, however, gave the preference to Magnus the Good king of Norway; but he dying in 1047, they unanimously elected Sweyn, who seems, by his abilities, to have deserved his elevation. In a Latin inscription, he is called king of England as well as of Denmark and Norway; although the former crown had been restored to the Saxon line in the person of Edward the Confessor, and was afterwards seized by William the Conqueror. Sweyn sent a fleet against England, in order to assert his right to the throne, as a lineal descendant from Canute the Great; but his troops were either defeated by William, or obliged to evacuate the island through the treachery of his brother.

Sweyn is described by a contemporary historian*, who personally knew him as a prince polite to foreigners, of elegant manners, and great literary accomplishments. He died in 1074, leaving thirteen sons and two daughters: five of the sons successively filled the throne of Denmark; and his posterity, in the male line, held it in possession until 1387, when Valdemar III. dying without male issue, the female branch succeeded; first in the person of Oloff II. son of the celebrated Margaret; and, upon his decease, in that of Margaret herself, whose ashes are also interred in this cathedral.

The sepulchre of this remarkable woman, who is generally styled the Semiramis of the North, stands conspicuous in the middle of the church: it is enclosed within a balustrade; the monument is of stone painted black, and upon it lies the figure of the queen in alabaster, a whole length, and, as we were informed, her exact size when alive. If this

* See the quotation from Adams Bremen in Pontopidan's Mar. Dan. p. 2.

tradition be true, it was obvious to remark, that she must have been very short in her person. An inscription upon the tomb, instead of enlarging in long fulsome flatteries, such as are usually paid to sovereigns, after recording the time of her death, only adds, that "it was raised at the expence of Eric of Pomerania, in memory of a princess whom posterity could never sufficiently honour as she deserves." Nothing less could be said of a personage who so justly claims our respect and veneration, and whose glorious reign has scarcely its parallel in the records of history. This Margaret, daughter of Valdemar III. and Hedwige his queen, was born in 1353; and, if we may give credit to some of the Danish historians, owed her being to a circumstance as singular as her whole life was illustrious and eminent. Valdemar, in returning from an hunting party, chanced to repair to the castle of Seborg, where he had confined his consort Hedwige on account of some ill-grounded suspicions. Being pleased with one of the queen's attendants, he proposed an interview: the woman feigned compliance, but substituted her mistress in her stead, and Margaret was the fruit of their meeting; which has led a Danish historian * to remark, in the high style of panegyrick, that the good which he unconsciously performed that night in begetting Margaret, amply compensated for all the evil actions of his life. In the sixth year of her age she was betrothed to Haquin, king of Norway, son of Magnus king of Sweden, which was the first step to her future greatness. This marriage,

* "Regina eadem sui mariti & pellex, & uxor, & concubina. Quid ad hanc scenam Hercules navitatis, aut in Alcmene sinu Juppiter decumbens. Sanè autem plus eâ nocte Valdemarus fecit boni in scius, quàm per omnem vitam sciens fece-

"rat mali; qui præciosissimam vitam donavit orbi tot regnorum compotem futuram, Margaretam, & legem transgrediendo, felicem Daniam effecit." Berengii Florus Danicus, p. 506.

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after much opposition on the part of the Swedes, was solemnized at Copenhagen, in 1363, when she was only in the eleventh year of her age. Margaret gave so many proofs of her prudence and courage when Haquin lost the crown of Sweden, as induced Valdemar frequently to say of her, that nature intended her for a man, and had erred in making her a woman*.

Upon the demise of her father in 1375, she had the address to secure the election of her son Oloff, then only five years of age, in preference to the son of her eldest sister Ingeburga; and, upon the death of her husband Haquin, she secured his succession to the crown of Norway. Being regent during Oloff's minority, her administration was so vigorous, prudent, and popular, that, upon his premature death in 1385, she was chosen queen by the states of Denmark; the first instance, perhaps, in a government wholly elective, and in which custom had not authorized the election of a female, of a woman being exalted to the throne by the free and unanimous suffrages of a warlike people. With the same address she procured the crown of Norway; and was equally successful in gaining that of Sweden. Albert had been chosen king, and might have preserved his power, if it had not been his fate to contend with such a rival as Margaret. When, in allusion to her sex, he styled her, in derision, the king in petticoats, she answered his reproach by actions, not by words; and made him sorely repent of his vaunts, when he found himself worsted in every engagement; when deposed and captive, he owed his life to the clemency of the very woman whom he had so wantonly insulted. By the famous union of Calmar in 1397, she united the three Northern kingdoms, and held them undivided during her reign, not-

* Pontani Hist. Dan. 544.

withstanding the aversion of the Swedes to the Danish government. CHAP.
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But from nothing is the vigour and policy of her conduct more conspicuous than from this consideration, that the perpetual revolts and intestine convulsions, which continually disturbed the reigns of the sovereigns who immediately preceded and followed her, were subdued throughout her whole administration. This internal tranquility, more glorious, though less splendid, than her warlike achievements, and which was very unusual in those turbulent times, could only be derived from the over-ruling ascendancy of her superior genius.

This great princess died suddenly on the 27th of October, 1412, in the 60th year of her age, and, if we include the period of her regency, in the 30th of her reign, leaving the three kingdoms to the quiet possession of her successor, Eric of Pomerania; and to her subjects the regret of her loss, by the experience of those calamities which broke in upon the state when the sceptre was wielded by a less able hand. Her remains were first deposited at Soroe, but were removed to this cathedral by order of the bishop of Roskild *.

All the sovereigns of the house of Oldenburgh, which still possesses the throne of Denmark, are interred in the cathedral of Roskild, excepting John, Christian II. and Frederick I.

Christian I. the father of this line, lies in a small chapel, without any monument or inscription. He was count of Oldenburgh, and owed his elevation, as well to his lineal descent from Eric VII. as to the moderation of his uncle Adolphus duke of Sleswick. Upon the death of Christopher of Bavaria without issue, the states of Denmark offered the throne

* Hic primum sepulta, sed postea per violentem translata, & Roskildis sepulta. Dominum Petrum Episcopum Roskildensem Langebek, Tom. IV. p. 542.

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to Adolphus, as the nearest in blood to the deceased monarch; but he declining it on account of his advanced age, they, at his recommendation, elected his nephew Christian, then in the 22d year of his age: this event happened in 1448; and in the same year he was permitted also to ascend the throne of Norway, in right of his descent from one of their antient kings. He obtained the crown of Sweden in 1558, upon the deposition of Charles Canutson; but wore it only a short time, as well through his own activity, as through the aversion of the Swedes to a foreign ruler. Christian I. reigned three and twenty years; a sovereign of great moderation and humanity; whose qualities, being less shining than solid, were more adapted to the interior administration of affairs, than to the exploits of war. He is justly characterized by an historian, as one of those princes who do not attract the admiration of mankind, yet whom Providence never bestows upon a nation but as a signal mark of his favour*.

The successors of Christian I. who are buried in the same church, seem in general to have inherited his pacifick qualities; as all, except Frederick II. and Christian IV. were princes of mild and temperate dispositions; patrons of the arts and sciences, rather than enterprizing in arms; who yielded to others the palm of military glory; and for the most part shrunk before the daring spirit which animated the rival house of Vasa.

In the same chapel are the tombs of Christian III. and Frederick II. Their superb monuments, executed in Italy, at the expence of Christian IV. are elegantly carved, and are esteemed master-pieces of sculpture. The statues of the

* “ Plus grand aux yeux de la faine raï-
 “ son qu’à ceux du vulgaire, il fut peut-être
 “ un de ces princes que les peuples ne lou-
 “ ent que foiblement, mais que le Ciel ne

“ leur accorde que quand il veut leur prou-
 “ ver son amour.” Mallet, Hist. de Dan.
 Tom. II. p. 95.

two fovereigns are represented as large as life, under a canopy of stone, supported by Corinthian pillars. Several figures of angels, and the bafso-relievos round the maufoleum of Frederick II. representing that prince's battles, are juftly admired. No tomb is erected to the memory of Chriftian IV. juftly called, by Mr. Wraxall, the Idol of Danifh Hiftory : his body is depofited in a coffin covered with velvet, ornamented with filver trophies, efcutcheons, and angels holding crowns of laurel.

It would be tedious to enumerate the other fepulchres of the royal family, moft of which are loaded with infcriptions of great length ; the reader, who is defirous of further information, will find them accurately tranfcribed in Pontopidan's *Marmora Danica*, and in Travels through Denmark, published in 1702.

The following genealogical tables trace in regular defcent the Kings of Denmark, from Harald Blaaland to the prefent fovereign.

Genealogical Table of the KINGS of DENMARK, from HARALD BLAATAND to CHRISTIAN I.

1. Harald VI. Blaatand, king of Denmark, 939; died 989.

2. Sweyn I. king 989; died 1014.

Estrida, married Ulf Jarl.

3. Canute II. the Great, king of Denmark and England, died 1036; married Emma Normandy, and widow of Ethelred, king of England.

4. Harald Harefoot, king of England 1036; died 1039.

5. Hardicanute k. of Denmark, 1036; d. 1042.

7. Harald, died 1080.

8. Canute IV. died 1086.

6. Sweyn II. king of Denmark, 1066; died 1074.

11. Nicholas, died 1135.

10. Eric III. Siegod, sometimes called Eric IV. d. 1103.

Harald.

Canute St. duke of Sleswick, king of the Obotrites, assassinated by Magnus son of Nicholas, 1131.

A daughter.

12. Eric IV. Emun, k. 1135; d. 1137.

Magnus, died 1135.

15. Valdemar I. the Great, king 1157; died 1182.

14. Sweyn III. died 1157.

13. Eric V. Lam. died 1147.

14. Canute, joint sovereign with Sweyn III. d. 1157.

16. Canute, VI. d. 1202.

17. Valdemar II. died 1241.

Waldemar, joint sovereign with his father, and sometimes called Waldemar III. d. 1231. 18. Eric VI. k. 1241; d. 1250. 20. Christopher I. king 1250; died 1259.

19. Abel, king 1250; died 1252.

Valdemar, duke of Sleswick. Eric, duke of Sleswick.

21. Eric VII. Glipping, k. 1259; d. 1286.

22. Eric VIII. Menved; k. 1286; d. 1319. 23. Christopher II. k. 1319; d. 1334. Margaret, mar. Nicholaas de Verde.

24. Valdemar III. called sometimes Valdemar IV. k. 1340, after an interregnum of six years; died 1375. Sophia, mar. Gerard count of Holstein.

Ingeburga, m. Henry duke of Mecklenburgh.

Maria, married Wratislas duke of Pomerania.

26. Margaret, m. Haquin k. of Norway, who died 1380; queen of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; died 1420, aged 60.

Adolphus, d. 1459.

Gerard, d. 1433.

Hedwige, mar. Theodoric count of Oldenburgh, died 1440.

27. Eric IX. of Pomerania; k. 1420; deposed 1439; m. 1406, Philippina daughter of Henry IV. of England; d. in Pomerania 1449.

Sophia, m. John, son of Robert, emperor of Germany, and elector Palatine.

25. Olaus, or Olof, k. 1375; d. 1387.

29. Christian I. k. of Denmark, 1438.

28. Christopher III. of Bavaria, k. upon the deposition of Eric 1439; d. 1448.

Genea-

Genealogical Table of the Kings of DENMARK of the House of OLDENBURGH.

I. Christian I. count of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway 1448; died 1481.

II. John, died 1513.

Margaret, mar. James III. k. of Scotland.

IV. Frederick I. k. upon the deposition of Christian II. in 1523; d. 1533; mar. 1. Anne of Brandenburg; 2. Sophia, princess of Pomerania Stettin.

III. Christian II. deposed 1523; m. Elizabeth sister of the emperor Charles V. died 1559.

John, died 1532, at Ratibon, aged 14.

Christina, m. 1. Francis Sforza duke of Milan; 2. Francis duke of Loraine, from whom descended, in a regular line, Francis late emperor of Germany.

V. Christian III. died 1558; m. Dorothy of Saxe Lawenburgh.

Adolphus, author of the line of the dukes of Holstein-Gottorp, from whom descended Peter III. of Russia.

Elizabeth, m. Ulrich duke of Mecklenburg.

Sophia, m. Frederick II.

VI. Frederick II. b. 1534; d. 1588; m. Sophia princess of Mecklenburg.

Magnus, b. 1540; bishop of Aefel and Pilten, and titular k. of Livonia; d. 1583.

John, duke of Sleswick, b. 1545; died 1622; author of the branches of Sonderborg, Norborg, Glucksborg, and Plæn.

Dorothy, b. 1546; m. Maximilian duke of Luneburgh; from whom the electors of Hanover.

4 Elizabeth, b. 1573; m. Henry duke of Brunswick Lunenburgh.

Anne, b. 1574; m. James king of England.

VII. Christian IV. b. 1577; d. 1648; m. Anne Catharine princess of Brandenburg.

John, b. 1583; died at Moscow 1602.

Christian, b. 1603; died 1647.

VIII. Frederick III. b. 1609; d. 1670; m. Sophia Amelia princess of Brunwick Luneburgh.

Ulrick, d. 1603.

IX. Christian V. b. 1646; d. 1699; m. Charlotte Amelia of Hesse-Cassel.

George, b. 1653; m. Anne queen of England.

Several daughters, amongst whom Ulrica Eleonora, m. to Charles XI. king of Sweden.

X. Frederick IV. b. 1671; d. 1730;

XI. Christian VI. b. 1699; d. 1746; mar. Christina Sophia princess of Brandenburg Bareith.

XII. Frederick V. born 1723; died 1766; mar. 1. Louisa, daughter of George II. king of England; 2. Juliana Maria, daughter of Ferdinand Albert of Brunwick Wolfenbottel.

XIII. Christian VII. b. 1749; mar. Matilda sister of George III. king of England.

Sophia Magdalena, b. 1746; m. Gustavus III. the present king of Sweden.

Wilhelmina Carolina, b. 1750; m. William hereditary prince of Hesse-Cassel.

Louisa, b. 1750; m. Charles second son of Frederick, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel.

Frederick b. 1753; m. Sophia Frederica princess of Mecklenburgh Schwerin.

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In addition to the royal sepulchres which I observed at Roskild, I shall mention that of Saxo Grammaticus, the most antient Danish historian.

Saxo, descended from an illustrious Danish * family, was born about the middle of the 12th century †; and on account of his uncommon learning, was distinguished by the name of *Grammaticus*. He was provost of the cathedral church of Roskild, and warmly patronized by the learned and warlike Absalon the celebrated archbishop of Lunden, at whose instigation he wrote the History of Denmark. His epitaph, a dry panegyrick in bad Latin verses, gives no account of the æra of his death, which happened, according to Stephens, in 1204. His history, consisting of 16 books, begins from the earliest account of the Danish annals, and concludes with the year 1186. According to the opinion of an accurate writer ‡, the first part which relates to the origin of the Danes, and the reigns of the antient kings, is full of fables; but the eight last books, and particularly those which regard the events of his own times, deserve the utmost credit. He wrote in Latin; the style, if we consider the barbarous age in which he flourished, is in general extremely elegant, but rather too poetical for history §.

* Some authors have erroneously conjectured, from his name Saxo, that he was born in Saxony; but Saxo was no uncommon appellation among the antient Danes. See Olaus Wormius Monumenta Danica, p. 186. and Stephens's Prolegomena, p. 10.

† Stephens, in his edition of Saxo Grammaticus, printed at Soroe, indubitably proves, that he must have been alive in 1156, but cannot ascertain the exact place and time of his birth. See Stephens's Prolegomena to the Notes on Saxo Grammaticus, p. 8 to 24; also Holberg, Vol. I. p. 269; and Mallet's North. Antiq. Vol. I. p. 4.

‡ Holberg.

§ Mallet, in his Histoire de Dannemarc, Vol. I. p. 182, says, "that Sperling, a writer of great erudition, has proved, in contradiction to the assertions of Stephens and others, that Saxo Grammaticus was secretary to Absalon; and that the Saxo provost of Roskild was another person, and lived earlier." If so, Saxo Grammaticus, the historian, is probably not buried at Roskild. Be this particular as it may, the reader will not, it is hoped, be displeased with the account of an author so little known as Saxo Grammaticus.

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After having satisfied our curiosity in examining the tombs of Roskild, we continued our journey, and passed the night at Ringsted, a small, but neat, town, situated almost in the center of the island; it is said by some antiquaries to have been built by Sigurd Ring, king of Denmark, who reigned in the 7th century; but this notion seems merely founded on the similitude of the name Ring. The church, which is esteemed the most antient Christian temple in Denmark, is a brick building, with two low square towers. Within several Danish kings of the house of Sweyn II. are interred. The tombs are much more simple than those at Roskild; being generally plain stones level with the pavement, exhibiting a figure in armour carved in flat brass, or on the naked stone, with Latin inscriptions, mostly effaced by time. A few of the sepulchres, which are somewhat more modern, are raised in the shape of coffins. The first sovereign buried in this church is Waldemar I. who expired in 1182: and the last is Eric VIII. surnamed Manved, who died in 1319.

April 6. We pursued our route to Corsoer, the place of embarkation, upon the Great Belt, which separates the Isle of Zealand from that of Funen. Corsoer stands upon the western point of the Isle of Zealand on a small peninsula: it has a good harbour for light vessels, and is fortified by a citadel defended by a rampart of earth and bastions, with a few useless cannon, more for form than service. It contains the commander's house, which was formerly a royal palace, and a granary, and is garrisoned by a few invalids.

Zealand, which we crossed in our way from Copenhagen to Corsoer, is the largest of the isles belonging to the king of Denmark, being about 700 miles in circumference. That part which we traversed appears a gently waving surface; for the most part open, dotted occasionally with small woods
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of beech and oak, and diversified with beautiful lakes. The island is exceedingly fertile; it produces grain of all sorts, and in great plenty, abounds with excellent pasture, and is particularly famous for its breed of horses. The fields, which seemed well cultivated, were in many parts formed into inclosures, separated by mud walls: a few cottages were of brick; but the generality were of mud white-washed.

April 8. The wind blowing high and directly contrary, we were detained two days at Corſoer; and, upon its shifting, we embarked for the Isle of Funen: the distance between the nearest points on each coast is about 18 miles. About mid-day we passed the small island of Sproe, near which lay a guardship, for the purpose of exacting the toll from all vessels which pass between that island and Zealand: other ships pay their duty at Nyborg. Sproe contains only two buildings; a small inn for the occasional refreshment of the guardship's crew; and a neat farm-house. It produces grain and pasture. Upon the top of an height overlooking the sea, we observed the ruins of an antient fortress; which, as the sailors informed us, formerly belonged to pirates, who used to resort in great numbers to this island, which seemed well adapted for that purpose.

After a favourable passage of four hours, we landed at Nyborg, a small well-built town, in the Isle of Funen, standing upon a commodious bay. The town is surrounded with a rampart and ditch, and garrisoned by a company of invalids. An inscription over an old square building informed me, that Christian III. son of Frederick I. raised the fortifications. Towards the skirts of the town, and close to the ramparts, are the remains of an old palace, in which Christian II. was born; and to the roof of which, as his biographer * re-

* Svaning Vit. Christ. II.

lates,

lates, he was conveyed, while an infant, by a tame monkey, and brought down without receiving the least harm. CHAP.
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In the afternoon we reached Odenfee, the capital of the Isle of Funen, a place of such high antiquity, that some Danish writerrrs derive its foundation and name from Oden, the god and hero of the Gothick nations. But leaving such disquisitions to the antiquaries of the country, I shall only observe, that its name occurs in the earliest ages of the Danish history; and that it was a town of great note long before Copenhagen existed. Odenfee stands upon a small river, which is not navigable, and about two miles from the Bay of Stegestrand. Many of the houses are antient, bearing dates about the middle of the 16th century; but part is newly built: it contains about 5200 inhabitants, who carry on some commerce, exporting chiefly grain and leather; the latter is much esteemed, and its goodness is supposed to arise from a certain property in the river water, in which it is soaked for tanning. The Danish cavalry are supplied from thence with the greatest part of their leathern accoutrements.

Odenfee is the seat of a bishop, which was founded by Harald Blaaland in 980, and is the richest in Denmark next to Copenhagen. It has a school, endowed by the celebrated Margaret of Valdemar, in which a certain number of scholars, from six to sixteen years of age, are instructed gratis: they live and board in the town, and each receives a yearly pension; other scholarships have been also founded by private persons. The whole number amounted to seventy. There is also a *gymnasium*, instituted by Christian IV. for the admission of students at the age of sixteen. This seminary was still further improved by the liberality of Holberg the Danish historian, who protected letters with the same zeal with which he cultivated them. It is now greatly fallen from
its

its former flourishing state, containing, when I passed through the town, only eight students.

The cathedral is a large old brick building, which has nothing remarkable, except some costly monuments of a private Danish family. The church, which formerly belonged to the convent of Recolets, contains the sepulchre of John king of Denmark, and of his son Christian II.

John ascended the throne in 1481, upon the death of his father Christian I. and in 1497, renewing the union of Calmar, he obtained the crown of Sweden; which the Swedes, however, did not long permit him to enjoy. He died on the 12th of February, 1513, having on his death-bed forcibly admonished his son Christian II.; admonitions which could have but little effect upon a breast already corrupted by power, and impatient for dominion. John would have acted more wisely, if he had endeavoured to render his son's infant mind capable of receiving the impressions of virtue, and had not shamefully neglected his education; a crime highly reprehensible in a father, because it can never be remedied; but unpardonable in a sovereign, who is perhaps rearing a tyrant for his subjects, and entailing upon his country a series of evils, for which he is himself chiefly accountable. Historians agree in representing John as a wise and prudent prince, inclined to peace, but enterprizing in war; and as generally moderate and humane: admitting, however, that he perpetrated occasional acts of violence and cruelty, derived from a species of melancholy madness, that preyed upon his mind, and at times deprived him of his senses.

His son, the cruel and unfortunate Christian II. is entombed near his father, under a plain grave-stone, somewhat raised, but without any inscription. He was born at Nyborg, on the 2d of July, 1481; and discovered in his youth many symptoms

symptoms of a lively genius and a good understanding, which, if properly cultivated, might have rendered him the ornament, instead of becoming, as he proved, the dishonour of his country. The young prince was entrusted to a common burgher of Copenhagen; and was afterwards removed to the house of a school-master, who was also a canon of the cathedral. In this latter situation his chief employment consisted in regularly accompanying his master to church, where he distinguished himself beyond the other scholars and choristers in chanting and singing psalms. From thence he was placed under the tuition of a German preceptor, a man of learning, but a pedant; under whom, however, he made a considerable proficiency in the Latin tongue. From this humble education Christian imbibed a taste for bad company; was accustomed to haunt the common taverns, to mix with the lowest of the populace, to scour the streets, and to be guilty of every excess. The king at length, informed of these irregularities, reproved him severely; but as the prince had already contracted those bad habits, which were grown too strong to yield to any effort, these admonitions were too late. He feigned, however, contrition for his past behaviour; and again won the affections of his father by his military successes in Norway; and by an unwearied application to the affairs of government.

During the first years of his reign, which commenced in 1513, his administration was in many respects worthy of praise; and the excellence of many of his laws, which it would be unjust to deny, has induced Holberg * to affirm, that if the character of Christian II. was to be determined by his laws, and not by his actions, he would merit the appellation of Good, rather than of Tyrant. Happy would it have

* Dan. Gef. Vol. II. p. 94.

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been for himself and his people, if he had continued his reign upon the same principles.

At first all his enterprizes were crowned with success: he abridged the power of the Danish nobility, and exalted the regal prerogatives; he obtained the crown of Sweden by conquest, and was even proclaimed hereditary sovereign of that kingdom. A prudent and temperate use of these advantages might have ensured to him a long and undisturbed possession of the throne; if his natural disposition, now freed from all restraint by prosperity, had not hurried him to the perpetration of the most flagrant acts of tyranny. The dreadful massacre of Stockholm, in which six hundred of the principal nobility were put to the sword, under the semblance of law, and amid the rejoicings of his coronation, exhibited such a striking instance of his malignant and implacable character; that, upon the revolt of Gustavus Vasa, the spirit of resistance diffused itself rapidly from Sweden to Denmark, where he had exasperated his subjects by repeated cruelties and oppressions, and the sole confidence which he placed in the lowest and most unworthy favourites*. In 1523 he was publicly

* The first of these favourites was the infamous Sigrebit, mother of the king's mistress Diveke. This artful woman, who was a native of Holland, and had kept an inn at Berghen, in Norway, even after her daughter's death retained such power, that she might even be styled prime-minister: she was the only channel of his favours; transacted all affairs of importance; had the care of the finances; superintended the customs of the Sound; and had, in a word, acquired such a wonderful ascendancy over the infatuated monarch, that her influence was attributed to fascination. Upon the king's deposition, Sigrebit was so much detested, that, from apprehensions of the po-

pular fury, she was conveyed in a chest on board of the vessel which carried Christian from Denmark. Holberg adds, that she consoled the king for the loss of his crown, by assuring him, that, through the emperor's interest, he could not fail of being chosen burgomaster of Amsterdam. The further particulars of this woman's life subsequent to her escape from Denmark are not known.

The other favourite of Christian II. no less infamous than the former, was Nicholas Slagelbeck, originally a barber of Westphalia, and recommended to the king by his relation Sigrebit. He rendered himself so useful to Christian by his sanguinary advice at the massacre of Stockholm, and by being the

publicly deposed by the states of Denmark; and the crown transferred to his uncle Frederick duke of Holstein. This deposition was neither the consequence of Frederick's intrigues, nor of the spirit of party; but was occasioned by the just and universal detestation which pervaded all ranks of people; and as it was the general sense of the nation, it had more the appearance of a new election upon the demise of the crown, than of a revolution which deprived a despot of his throne. Christian himself was indeed so sensible of the general odium, that, though by no means deficient in personal courage, he yet made not the least effort to retain possession of that throne which he had so often dishonoured. Upon quitting Copenhagen he repaired to Antwerp, under the protection of Charles V. whose sister Isabella he had married. After many delays and solicitations at the different courts of Europe, he at length collected, by the emperor's assistance, a fleet and army, with which he invaded the Danish dominions: his attempts, however, proving unsuccessful, he fell, in 1532, into the hands of Frederick I. and was consigned a prisoner to the castle of Sunderborg, a strong fortress in the Isle of Alsen.

The place of his confinement was a dungeon, with a small window, admitting only a few rays of light, and through which his provisions were conveyed. Having entered this gloomy cell with a favourite dwarf, the sole companion of his misery, the door was instantly walled up. Even the horrors of this situation were aggravated by the death of his only son John, who expired at Ratisbon in the 15th year of

the instrument of his cruelty, that he was rewarded with the archbishoprick of Lund. Not long afterwards, however, the king threw upon this favourite all the odium of the massacre, and sacrificed him to the publick vengeance: the unfortunate victim was first racked, and then burnt alive, exhibiting a melancholy example, what little confidence is to be reposed in the favour of a tyrant.

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his age, and on the same day in which his father was taken prisoner. The premature decease of this accomplished prince, whom he tenderly loved, and on whom he rested his sole hopes of enlargement, reduced him to a state of despondency.

After much anxious solicitude by what means he could convey intelligence of his dreadful situation to his daughter the electress Palatine, and to the emperor Charles V. the king prevailed upon the dwarf to counterfeit sickness, and to request that he might be removed from the prison for the recovery of his health. If he should succeed, he was to seize the first opportunity of escaping from the Danish dominions to the court of the electress, in order that she might engage the emperor to intercede with the king of Denmark for some alleviation of her father's sufferings. The dwarf accordingly feigned sickness, was transferred to the neighbouring town, eluded the vigilance of his guards, and made his escape; but was overtaken at Rendsburgh, scarcely a day's journey from the Danish confines.

Christian, frustrated in this attempt, and deprived of his faithful associate, lingered for some time without any companion; until an old soldier, worn out with the fatigues of war, voluntarily offered to share the king's imprisonment. This veteran being immured in the dungeon afforded constant amusement to the royal prisoner, by various anecdotes on the different princes and generals under whom he had enlisted, and by describing those expeditions and battles in which he had been present. And, as he had served from his earliest youth, was a person of much observation, and by nature extremely loquacious, he assisted in relieving the *tædium* of Christian's captivity. Nor did any event, scarcely the loss of his son, ever more sensibly affect the royal prisoner, than

than the death of this soother of his misery, who expired in the dungeon. CHAP.
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After continuing eleven years in his original cell, without being once permitted to quit it, he was at length, through the intercession of Charles V. removed to a commodious apartment in the same castle; was provided with suitable attendants; sometimes indulged with the liberty of visiting in the town, attending divine service in the publick church, and of hunting in the neighbouring district. Yet even this change of situation, which had been so long the sole object of his wishes, could not make him forget, that he was still a prisoner: the recollection of which affected him occasionally to such a degree, that he would, even in his most cheerful moments, suddenly burst into tears, throw himself upon the ground, utter the most bitter lamentations, and continue for some time in a state approaching to insanity.

However deservedly odious Christian II. may have appeared in the former parts of his life, yet his subsequent sufferings may be considered as a sufficient atonement; and it is a pleasing satisfaction to every human mind, that he at length seems to have recovered from his despondency, and to have acquiesced in his fate with the most perfect resignation.

At length, in 1546, after a confinement of sixteen years and seven months in the castle of Sonderborg, he was conveyed to the palace of Callenborg, in the Isle of Zealand; a place to which he had been particularly attached. Christian III. repaired in person to Affens, where he received his fallen rival with every mark of attention, and assured him that he should enjoy every comfort which could tend to alleviate his situation. These unusual honours, joined to his removal from a place where he had experienced so much misery, and the

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the prospect of again inhabiting his favourite palace, excited such transports of joy, that he compared himself to a person recalled from death *.

Being conducted to Callenborg, he had the satisfaction of finding these promises religiously fulfilled. He survived this happy change ten years; and his mind had been so softened by adversity, that, old as he was, his death was said to be hastened by his affliction for the loss of his benefactor Christian III. He died on the 24th of January, 1559, in the 78th year of his age, and in the 36th from the period of his deposition †.

April 9th, we arrived at Affens, just mentioned as the place of meeting between Christian II. and Christian III.; it stands upon the Little Belt, a strait of the Baltick, which separates the Isle of Funen from the continent. This island is about 340 miles in circumference; is remarkably fertile in pasture and grain; and exports annually to Norway barley, oats, rye, and pease. The country is open, with a gently undulating surface; and its coasts are generally flat and sandy.

The passage across the Little Belt is only nine miles; but as the wind was contrary, we were engaged five hours in performing it. We landed upon the duchy of Sleswick at Arroë-Sund, so called from the little island Arroë, contiguous to the continent.

On the 11th we passed through several small, but neat towns, beautifully situated upon inlets of the Baltick; and

* "Trajicientem autem in Fioniam Christianus cum fratre, qui tum Assaniæ erat ad colloquendum invitant. Ibi habita oratio a Christiano, nonnullis sententiarum presentibus, ipsius moderatione digna, quæ non erat fortunam exprobandis, aut memoriam scelerum repetentis; sed maxime studium pietatis & tolerantiam intendebat. Jusque sperare om-

nia, quæ ad vitam lætius & honestius tolerandam essent, si modo in fide maneret. Quibus ille non secus animo exhilaratur, ac si morte extractus, novam lucem intueretur." Cragii Annal. Christ. III. p. 324.

† These particulars of Christian the Second's life are chiefly taken from Holberg and Svaningii Vita Christiani Secundi.

particularly

particularly Flendsburgh, a place of considerable commerce. CHAP. V.
 The inhabitants possess at least 200 vessels; and carry on
 no inconsiderable trade to the West Indies. They traffick
 also to Norway, where they procure salted fish, which they
 carry to the Mediterranean; and bring back wines and dried
 fruits to Holland, Peterburgh, and the ports of the Baltick.

The duchy of Sleswick, sometimes called South Jutland, is separated from Holstein, or the king of Denmark's German dominions, by the Eyder. The capital is an irregularly built town of great length, and contains about 5630 inhabitants. The houses are of brick; and, like those of all the other towns in the country, resemble in neatness and manner of building those of Holland: the inhabitants dress also like the Dutch; and many of them speak their tongue, though the usual languages are the German and Danish.

Close to Sleswick is the old palace of Gottorp, formerly the ducal residence; at present inhabited by the stadtholder, or governor, prince Charles of Hesse-Cassel, who married Louisa princess of Denmark. It is a large brick building, surrounded by a rampart and moat: from this castle the ducal line, formed by Adolphus son of Frederick I. king of Denmark, was denominated Holstein-Gottorp, which still subsists in the person of the present great-duke of Russia.

That part of the duchy which we traversed seemed well cultivated: it was in general flat and open, but occasionally exhibited variegated landscapes of heath, arable land, and pasture, enclosed with quickset hedges, and studded at intervals with woods of beech and oak. The farm-houses had the appearance of great neatness. We passed also ranges of new cottages, lately erected for colonists at the expence of the crown. They are spacious, and resemble those of Westphalia, containing, under the same roof, a large barn, with divisions

visions for the cattle on each side, and two rooms at the further end for the family. Each family is supplied with ploughs, carts, and other necessary implements of agriculture, two horses, and a pension during three years.

About twenty miles from Sleswick we quitted that dutchy, and at Rendsburgh crossed the Eyder into Holstein; which river is considered as forming on this side the limits of Germany; and is supposed to have been the boundary of the Roman empire: a tradition recorded in the following verse, hewn over the gate of the old town,

Eydora Romani terminus imperii.

Rendsburgh is esteemed the strongest fortress in the Danish territories. The town, which contains about 3600 inhabitants, carries on but little trade, scarcely possessing three vessels. It must soon, however, become a place of importance, as the canal of Kiel will necessarily introduce a considerable degree of commerce. The last sluice is to be constructed at Rendsburgh. The river Eyder is navigable for large vessels to within a short distance of the town, while those of inferior burden land their goods on the quays. The tide, which rises near four feet, brings sand into its channel; and floating machines are continually employed to deepen its bed.

The environs are chiefly a flat barren heath; but as we approached Kiel, the coasts gradually became hilly and more fertile. We passed between the Wetter and Flemhuder Lakes; and again crossed the Eyder, there only a small rivulet, which flows from the former into the latter, and arrived in the evening at Kiel. The district of Kiel is that portion of the dutchy of Holstein, which descended to the line of Holstein-Gottorp, and belonged to Peter III. as part of his hereditary dominions. In 1773 the present empress of Russia ceded it to the king of Denmark, in exchange for the counties of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, which she gave to the prince bishop of Lubeck.

beck. This exchange was very favourable to Denmark, as the king now possesses the whole dutchy of Holstein; and the intended junction of the Baltick and the North Sea will be formed entirely through the Danish territories. CHAP.
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Kiel possesses an university for the German subjects of Denmark, which was founded in 1660 by Christian Albert duke of Holstein-Gottorp, and has lately been considerably enlarged by his present majesty. It contains 24 professors, and about 300 students.

The town stands upon a small island in a bay of the Baltick, and has a very commodious harbour for ships of the largest size. It is already one of the most commercial places of Holstein; and its trade will be still further augmented when the inland navigation across the peninsula is finished; of which I am enabled, partly from my own inspection, and partly from information obtained on the spot, to give the following description.

The inland navigation for the junction of the two seas is to be formed across the dutchy of Holstein, by the canal of Kiel and the river Eyder, which passes by Rendsburgh, and falls into the German ocean at Tonningen.

The canal begins about three miles North of Kiel, at the mouth of the rivulet Lewensaue which heretofore separated Holstein from Sleswick, and will form a new boundary between those two dutchies. The distance from its beginning to the last sluice at Rendsburgh is 27 English miles; but as the Eyder is navigable about 6 miles and $\frac{3}{4}$ above Rendsburgh, and only requires to be deepened in some places; the cut which is necessary for the completion of the water-communication between the two seas is only 20 miles and $\frac{1}{2}$.

The canal was begun in July, 1777; and in April, 1779, when I examined it, had been carried about six miles as far

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as Suckdorf; and it was computed that the whole would be completed in 1784. The work was performed by contract: 1024 cubick feet* of earth were taken out for 8s.; and the whole expence was to amount to about £200,000. Between the Flemhuder lake and the rivulet Lavens is the highest point; on each side whereof the waters take different courses to the Baltick and German Ocean: in this part the ground must be opened to the depth of 50 feet. The perpendicular fall towards the Baltick is 25 feet 6 inches; and that towards the Ocean 23; and the vessels will be raised or let down by means of the six following sluices: Holtenau, Knorp, Suckdorf, Shinkel, Niederholten, and Rendsburgh. The breadth of the cut is 100 feet at top, and 54 at bottom; the sluices are 27 feet in breadth and 100 in length; and the lowest depth of water 10 feet. The canal will be furnished with water as far as Steinwarp from the Eyder, and the lakes Flemhuder and Wester, and from thence to Rendsburgh by the Wetter lake, from which flows a rivulet that joins the Eyder. Common merchantmen of about 120 tons burden will be able to navigate this canal.

The utility of this important undertaking will be evident from a mere inspection of the map of Denmark. At present even the smallest vessels, trading from any part of the Danish dominions in the Baltick to the Northern Sea, must make a circuit round the extremity of Jutland, and are liable to be detained by opposite winds. This navigation is so tedious, that goods shipped at Copenhagen for Hamburg are not unusually sent by sea only to Lubeck, and from thence by land to Hamburg. But the completion of this canal will enable vessels of a certain burden to pass immediately from the Baltick into the German Ocean; proceed without unlading

* The foot used in this chapter is to the English as 21 to 22.

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ing to Hamburgh; or sail to Holland, which, in times of war, receives great supplies of sugar, and other West Indian commodities; from Denmark. CHAP.
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April the 12th. After having examined the canal and town of Kiel, we continued our route, and, in about 18 miles, reached a small village beautifully seated between two lakes, in the midst of a romantick country, interspersed with several forests of beech and oak. The largest of these lakes is that of Ploen, the banks of which were adorned with the town of Ploen, the capital of the dutchy, which escheated to the king of Denmark in 1761, upon the decease of the last duke Charles without issue male. The palace, formerly the ducal residence, rising in the midst of the town on an elevated spot of ground and overlooking the lake, was a picturesque object.

On the ensuing morning we traversed a waving and variegated country, abounding in pasture, corn, and pleasantly sprinkled with wood; and, after a few miles, we quitted his Danish majesty's dominions, and arrived about mid-day at Lubeck.

During my progress through Sweden and Denmark, I remarked, with attentive curiosity, many of those regular circles of stones which are so frequently scattered over the face, not only of these countries, but our own. According to the plan I have generally followed in the course of this work, I shall first describe those which fell under my immediate observation; and shall then throw together a few remarks upon their probable origin and destination.

In the province of West Gothland, between Kalange and Lidkioping, I observed upon the top of an hill two rude masses of red granite placed upright on each side of the high road. The tallest measured 15 feet in height, five spans

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fix spans broad, and both were no more than four inches
thick.

In a plain near Runneby, in the province of Blekinge, I noted many ranges of stones set up endways, and forming various circles, all of which plainly referred to one general disposition. I counted at least ten of these circles ; and among the most perfect, one of eight stones, whose diameter measured five paces, and another of ten, whose diameter was seven ; the generality were from two to four feet in height, and the highest did not exceed ten.

Again, close to Skillinge, the nearest post to Carlscrona, are several similar remains upon a rocky eminence, which consist of many oval or circular ranges : the greatest part were in their rough state ; a few were hewn flat and broad, and others somewhat resembled pillars pointed at top in the rudest manner. At the summit of the rock several concentrick ranges enclosed a space of about ten feet diameter, in the center of which stood two flat stones scarcely three feet in height, placed edgewise, and between them was the lower part of a withered trunk, the remains of a tree, which had once flourished in that spot. It appeared to me like an oak ; and a person attached to the hypothesis that such circles of stone are druidical relicks, might, with a small degree of enthusiasm, have considered this very tree as the central oak, if he could suppose that the religion of the Druids was ever established in these Northern kingdoms. The largest of these stones was about 12 feet in height. On the southern side of the same village were similar monuments of antiquity, the highest of which measured 18 feet ; and we continually observed remains of the same through Sweden.

In the Danish isles, as well as in Sleswick and Holstein, ^{CHAP. V.} these circles occurred no less frequently than in Sweden; but none of the stones were of any size, few which fell under my observation exceeding six or seven feet; and the greatest part were not more than two or three in height. In some parts I also noticed two placed edgeways, and upon them an unformed mass of stone laid in an horizontal position. One of these monuments is thus described in colonel Floyd's Journal.

“ About three or four English miles from Corfoer, at the
 “ extremity of a wood, standing on a promontory, I found
 “ one of the most perfect of those antient monuments. I
 “ observed a large mound of earth, on the summit of which
 “ large conical granite stones, standing at small intervals from
 “ each other, enclosed an oval space of a very considerable
 “ extent. In the center and highest point, a huge, shapeless
 “ mass of granite was laid horizontally on four other stones,
 “ almost buried beneath the surface of the ground. Near it
 “ was another mound, on the top of which another large stone
 “ was placed in a similar manner on four others. I remarked
 “ some vestiges of trenches; but as the place was covered
 “ with underwood, and as night approached, I could not trace
 “ their direction.”

In answer to many inquiries in several parts of Sweden, concerning the origin of these antient relicks, the peasants called them Gothick stones; and it seemed to be a general tradition amongst them, that they were erected by the Goths, whom they represented as a race of giants formerly inhabiting these countries. I shall here take notice, that we have many similar monuments in our island; and particularly that the Rol-rich stones near Burford in Oxfordshire, the Snake's Head of Overton Temple, as described by Stukeley*;

* Stukeley's Abury, p. 4. Tab. III. p. 40, & Tab. XXI.

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some of those which are delineated in Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall; and that circular range in Cumberland, of which Mr. Pennant * has given an engraving in his Tour to Scotland, seem to approach nearest in their general appearance to those which I observed in Sweden and Denmark. I cannot, however, but add, that Olaus Wormius, and other authors, highly exaggerate when they deduce any resemblance between the stupendous fabrick of Stone Henge, and these trifling, though genuine, remains of high antiquity; and still more erroneous in concluding, from that fanciful resemblance, that Stone Henge † was constructed by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, who migrated from these Northern parts.

Endless controversies have arisen among the learned concerning their origin and destination; and each author maintains that they were raised by that particular nation, or sect, as best suits his favourite hypothesis. Thus they are styled

* Tour into Scotland, and annexed plate.

† It is curious to trace the different systems which have been framed concerning the origin of Stone Henge; and to observe upon what vague and uncertain principles each author has founded his hypothesis.

The celebrated architect, Inigo Jones, in a work entitled, "Stone Henge restored," endeavours to ascertain, but without sufficient proofs, that it was a Roman temple consecrated to Cœlum, and constructed between the times of Agricola and Constantine the Great.—Dr. Charleton, on the contrary, in his "Stone Henge restored to the Danes," entirely overturns the system of Inigo Jones; and contends, with more ingenuity than argument, that it was built in the beginning of Alfred's reign by the Danes, who over-ran great part of England, as a place for the election of their kings.

John Webb, Esq; in "A Vindication of "Stone Henge restored," refutes, with

much learning, the opinion of Dr. Charleton, but fails in re-establishing the system of Inigo Jones. Some suppose it to have been erected in memory of 460 Britons massacred by Hengist; a chimerical notion, arising merely from a similarity of the words Henge and Hengist; others that it was raised in honour of Aurelius Ambrosius, the last British king; and a few, that it was a sepulchral monument of Bonduca, by the Old Britons.

Dr. Stukeley, in his elaborate treatise on Stone Henge, has amply overturned all these systems of former writers; but is not equally successful in establishing his favourite position, that it was a Druidical temple.

In a word, all that can be collected from a diligent examination of the several systems, is, that it is a monument of very high antiquity, far beyond the reach of history or tradition; and that there are no sufficient data by which any certain opinion can be formed of its origin.

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by different authors, Celtick, Cambrian, Gothick, Danish *, CHAP.
V. Saxon, Pi&ctick ; and by others have been solely attributed to the Druids, a favourite order of men, under whom we are too apt to shelter our ignorance.

Although these rude monuments are undoubtedly of such high antiquity as almost to baffle our inquiries ; yet we may infer, from historical evidence, that they do not all appear to have had the same original destination : some were raised as memorials of material events ; others as sepulchres ; but the greatest part were probably places, or objects †, of sacred worship.

In the earlier ages of the world we find that stones were erected for all these purposes, and by different nations ; but as it would be tedious to enumerate the several proofs of the assertion, I must refer the reader to Borlase's Dissertations upon similar monuments existing in our own country, as the most able writing upon this subject. How can we possibly confine to any particular nation, or religion, customs used indiscriminately by all in remote periods ; or how can we assign their epoch, since most of them were either raised before the Christian æra, or preceded the introduction of the Gospel into those parts, when no certain tradition or literary records were extant, to ascertain their origin ?.

* Olaus Wormius, in the true spirit of national prejudice, supposes all these monuments to have been erected by the Danes, because great numbers are found in Denmark ; upon which assertion, Stukeley observes, that their being in Denmark does not prove them to have been founded by the Danes, as they existed in that country long before any mention is made in history of the Danes ; but they must have been raised before that people occupied the Northern isles, by the Cimbrians, or Goths of old ; and if not by them, by whom is not

known from story.

† Many instances of the worshipping of stones occur among the antient Pagans ; and it appears that some were held no less sacred in these Northern regions. Among other proofs is the following of one, which was worshipped at Gilia, in Iceland, before the introduction of Christianity.

“ In Gilia lapis, quem majores eorum “ religiose coluerant, utpote a genio suo “ tutelari inhabitari tradentes.” *Kristni. Saga*, p. 13.



A P P E N D I X.

N^o I.Articles of the New Form of Government established in
Sweden at the Revolution of MDCCLXXII.

The following form of government is an exact transcript of that which was translated into English, by order of his Swedish Majesty, from the original, and printed for the use of the English Merchants resident at Stockholm. Although it contains several expressions and phrases not perfectly consonant to the idiom of the English language, yet, as it is a state-paper of great consequence, I thought it more adviseable to print it in its present form, than to new-model the style; particularly as there are very few expressions, the meaning of which can be doubted. The reader will, therefore, excuse any trifling errors in the style, or orthography; and not impute them to any negligence in the author.

WE, GUSTAVUS, by the grace of God, king of Sweden, Goths, and Vandals, &c. &c. &c. heir of Norway, duke of Schleswig, Holstein, &c. &c. make it known, that whereas, from the beginning of Our reign, We uninterruptedly have endeavoured to employ Our royal power and authority to promote the advancement, strength, and welfare of this realm, as well as the improvement, safety, and happiness of Our loyal subjects; and that, in order to obtain this end, We have found, that the present situation of the country requires an unavoidable amendment of the Fundamental Laws, adapted to the above-mentioned salutary purpose; and therefore, after the most exact and mature deliberation and reflection, We have drawn up a form of government, which the States of the realm now assembled unanimously have received and sworn to; which form of government, so agreed to by the states, We graciously have been pleased, by these presents, to approve and confirm, according to its literal sense, in the form and manner following.

We, the under-written Senators and States of the kingdom of Sweden, counts, barons, bishops, knights and nobility, clergy, chiefs of the militia, deputies of the towns and peasantry, here assembled in behalf of ourselves and our fellow-subjects at home, make it known, that whereas We, by a sad experience have found, that, under the name of the blessed Liberty, several of our fellow-subjects have formed an Aristocracy, so much more intolerable, as it hath been framed under licentiousness, fortified by self-interest and severities, and finally supported by foreign powers, to the detriment of the whole society, and which hath brought us in the utmost insecurity by the wrong interpretation of the
law,

law, and at last might have led the kingdom, our dear native country, to the dreadful fate, which the history of former times, and the example of our neighbours, hath laid before us, had not the spirit of zealous citizens, and their love to the country, supported by the zeal and achievements of the High and Puissant Prince and Lord Gustavus III. King of Sweden, Goths, and Vandals, our most Gracious Sovereign, saved and drawn us out of it; so that we have turned our thoughts upon fortifying our liberty, in a manner, that it may not be abused by a bold enterprizing ruler, nor by ambitious, self-interested, and treacherous citizens, or spiteful and haughty enemies; but that the old kingdom of Sweden and Gothia for ever may be a free and independent realm: therefore we have granted and confirmed, as we, by these presents, declare and assert this form of government to be an unchangeable and sacred Fundamental Law, which we, for us and our posterity, born and unborn, promise to obey and keep, after its literal sense; and deem those to be enemies to us and the kingdom, that would persuade us to deviate therefrom, as it, word for word, here follows:

I. Unanimity in religion, and the true divine worship, is the surest basis of a lawful, concordant, and stable government; and therefore the king, and all the officers and subjects of the realm, shall, hereafter as hitherto, first and foremost be addicted to the pure and evident word of God, as it is revealed in the Prophetical and Apostolick Writings, explained in the Christian Symbols, the Catechism of Luther, and the unvaried Confession of Augsburg, and confirmed by the Council of Upsala, and the former Decrees and Declarations of the States, in order that the right of the church may be strengthened, but without any prejudice to the rights of the king, of the crown, or of the whole Swedish people.

II. The king is intitled to rule his realm as the law of Sweden says, he and no other, to fortify, love and keep justice and truth; but forbid, abolish, and destroy unrighteousness and injury; not to ruin any man as to his life and honour, body or welfare, unless he be lawfully convicted and judged, nor to distrain, or suffer to be distrained, from any man his goods, moveable and unmoveable, without lawful trial and judgement, and to rule the kingdom according to the chapter of the law concerning the king's prerogative, the Swedish law, and this form of government.

III. The order of succession to the crown subsists intirely as it is established in the Act of Inheritance, settled at Stockholm Anno Domini 1543, in conformity to the like Act of Westeras, Anno Domini 1544, and the Decree of Norrkoping, Anno Domini 1604.

IV. Next to the king's majesty, the greatest respect hath been of old, and shall be hereafter, paid to the senators of the realm; and them the king alone creates and elects of native Swedish knighthood and nobility, bound to his majesty by fidelity, loyalty, and allegiance: and though they cannot be determined to a fixt number, because so many may be constituted as the need and dignity of the kingdom requires; yet they ordinarily ought to be seventeen, inclusive of the high officers of the realm, and the lord-lieutenant of Pomerania. The chief care of all these shall be to advise his majesty in all the important affairs and concerns of the kingdom, whenever it pleaseth his majesty to consult them; to assert all rights of the realm, to advise all that is most advantageous for him and for the kingdom, after the best of their judgement; to influence the states and the people to loyalty and willingness; to be careful of the right, majesty, independency, advantage, and flourishing state of the king and the realm: and thus, according to what the Decree of the Diet of the year 1602 says, advise, as their duty demands, but not rule. For the rest, the senators are bound to the king alone, and answerable to him only for their counsels; yet the king cannot reproach or impute to them any bad success, which may happen against their suffrages, expectations, thoughts, and opinions, formed upon good reasons, especially if the execution of good counsels does not reach the proposed aim, by the fault of him to whom it is enjoined and commanded to perform and execute them.

V. The king is intitled to govern and rule, save and protect towns and countries, and all the rights appertaining to him and to the crown, according to the law and this form of government.

VI. Whereas the negotiations of peace, truces, and alliances, offensive and defensive, seldom bear the least delay, and necessarily require the greatest secrecy, his majesty therefore consults with the senators in those important matters, and, having pondered and collected their suffrages, takes such measures and expedients, as he himself thinks to be the best and most useful for the kingdom; yet if, in those important matters, the senate should prove unanimous in an opinion, opposite to his majesty's, then his majesty yields to their sentiment; but if the advices should prove different, then his majesty decides, and approves of that opinion which he himself thinks the best and most advantageous.

VII. If the king is a foreigner, he may not go out of his kingdom without the knowledge and consent of the states of the realm; but if he is a native Swede, then he only needs to communicate his resolution to the senate, and perceive its advice, in the manner set down in the foregoing VI.

VIII. And that all occurring business may be performed, by his majesty, with the more activity and order, the affairs are to be divided between the senators in the manner his majesty thinks most useful and proper; his majesty, as the head of the kingdom, only being accountable to God and the country for his ruling it; and in all these affairs, when his majesty hath collected the opinions of the senators, who are acquainted with those matters, and called by his majesty to ponder them, his majesty hath the decisive voice; yet herefrom shall be excepted all the juridical cases judged at the King's benches, courts martial, or any other of the tribunals in the kingdom, and which come in the last instance to the final decision of the high revision of justice, which always consists of seven senators, that have been employed in juridical offices, and are reputed to be just and skilled in the law, and where his majesty himself hereafter, as before, is present, having there but two voices, and, when the opinions prove even, the decisive vote.

IX. It appertains to the king's majesty alone to do acts of grace, and to give pardon, to restore honour, life, and goods, in all crimes, which are not evidently contrary to the holy word of God.

X. All the higher offices, from lieutenant-colonel to field-marshal, both inclusive, and all their equals in the ecclesiastical and civil order, are in the king's gift, in the fitting of the senate, after the following wise: when a place is vacant, the senators ought to take notice of the capacity and merits of all persons that sue for such places, and who may come into consideration, and make report thereof to his majesty; and his majesty, having in the senate indicated the person who is come in his gracious remembrance to be advanced to the same place, the senators give their considerations thereupon in the Protocol, but without any further votation. To all other employments the colleges, and other persons concerned, propose to his majesty three persons of the most skilled, worthiest, and best qualified for the vacant place, that are to be found; on which occasion, somebody or other of merit, besides those of the college, may be remembered; and all others that seek for the preferment, and are competent, may be named. In the regiments, the proposal to the vacant post is to be made according to the statute of King Charles XII. of the 6th November, 1716. If, in the proposing, any man should be found to be injured, and without reason neglected, the respective persons concerned shall be accountable for it. Out of the soliciting persons his majesty chuseth him that he thinks the most qualified. But all the other lower offices, of which the colleges, chapters, and colonels of the regiments, as well as other bodies, before the year 1680, have been used to dispose, may be now and hereafter in their particular gift. Foreigners, being princes or other persons, may not hereafter be employed in the commissions of the crown, neither in the civil nor military state, except in his majesty's court, if they be not by eminent and great qualities
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able to do signal honour and notable service to the kingdom. To all these places ability and experience shall only open the way, without any regard to favour or birth when they are not accompanied with merit. The election of the arch-bishop, bishops, and superintendants, shall proceed after the former custom, and his majesty alone nominates one of the three who are proposed to him by the persons concerned. The preferment of the pastors of parishes shall be entirely according to the form of government of the year 1720, and the other statutes concerning these affairs enacted after that time.

XI. The king alone is entitled to ennoble those that by loyalty, virtue, valour, learning, and experience, have made themselves well deserving of the king and the country; but whereas there is a great multitude of noblemen in Sweden, his majesty vouchsafes to restrain this number to one hundred and fifty: and the order of nobles may not deny introduction to these one hundred and fifty new families: likewise the nobility may not deny introduction to the noblemen his majesty will create counts or barons, and who by great and eminent merits have deserved it.

XII. All affairs, here above not excepted, are to be reported to his majesty in his cabinet; or in one of the divisions in the senate, when his majesty thinks it more proper; or, if his majesty should be pleased, to advise with a greater number of senators; but in that case they shall always be deemed to have been proposed in the cabinet.

XIII. The realm being large, and the affairs many, and of greater importance than that the king alone can be able to examine and clear them all, he needs officers and governors to assist him.

XIV. For the diligent attendance, performance, and expedition of the affairs, certain colleges are instituted, who, like the arms of the body, extend their care to all that is to be done and executed in the kingdom. They have right and power, every one in their functions, in the name of the king, and in what relates to their charges and office, to command the officers under them, and to keep them, who are under their care and direction, to the performance of their duty, to demand account of their expeditions, and to give his majesty all necessary and desired notice, as well of those as their own business.

XV. In the King's Bench, which is the king's highest court of judicature, is to be one president, who, by learning and skill in the law, has made himself a qualified judge; and has, for his assistants, one vice-president, and the usual counsellors and assessors of the King's Bench. These high tribunals, every one in their place, have inspection and care that justice may be accountably and well administered, according to law and established statutes; which, without misinterpreting, must be observed and kept in the judgements after the true and literal sense; inasmuch, that the courts of King's Bench, without profit, self-interest, or other considerations, do justice to every body, as they shall be answerable before God and the king, lest unrighteousness might ruin the land and the kingdom. A nobleman may never, in arraignments of capital causes, be judged in any other court than that of the King's Bench, intirely as the privileges and statute relating to law-suits of the year 1615 prescribes and commands; yet the trial may be made *in loco*, and no other criminal cases than those touching life and honour be brought thither. It appertains likewise to the King's Bench to have a narrow inspection over the inferior judges in the cities and country, as well as executors; and when any thing is done by them out of imprudence, blundering, or avarice, they must immediately be sued, judged, and punished as the case requires; but if any of them should be convicted of having wilfully, out of hatred, malignity, or for bribes, wronged the justice, and thus wounded his conscience, and damaged his fellow-subject on his life, honour, and wellfare, such a one shall not be punished with fines, or removal from his place, but with loss of his life and honour, and, according to the case, pay for his malice and mischievousness, intirely after the Swedish law. Nor may such misdemeanors be hushed up or countenanced by indulgence or unseasonable mercy, lest, in so grave matters, others may be induced to a licen-

tious abuse of justice, when they perceive, that, upon the offence, forfeiture and damage, due censure and well-deserved punishment does not follow. On the contrary, they who, out of malice, rashness, and revenge, fall upon the judges and executors of the law, in the performance of their offices, with calumnious, slandering, and injurious words and writings, without being able fully to prove what they have charged them with, shall be immediately and severely punished, as every particular case may require; in order that inconsiderate, malicious, and mischievous persons may take warning thereat: but nobody, whosoever he is, shall be for a long while kept in prison without being put to a trial and judgement. And, in order that need and distress may not give the judge an occasion and pretence to abuse his office, the lawman's-judge and session-money, granted by the peasantry to the maintenance of their judges, shall be kept untouched, and employed to its due end, and the pay of the judges, after the annual list, exactly according to the assurance of King Gustavus Adolphus, of blessed memory, in the year 1611. The king's attornies and serjeants at law may not exercise their offices to the injury of others, and promoting their own self-interest: and if this should happen, they shall be accountable for it according to law; of which the chancellor of justice shall have a narrow inspection, his incumbent duty it is likewise, to see how the law and the ordinances are obeyed, and give an account thereof to his majesty. The above-mentioned King's Benches shall, hereafter as hitherto, be three: the first at Stockholm, whereto appertains the whole kingdom of Sweden, properly so called in the old law; the second is always at Ionkoping, whereto belongs the whole kingdom of Gothia; and the third has its seat at Abo, to which the Great Dutchy of Finland resorts.

XVI. All commissions, deputations with jurisdiction, or extraordinary tribunals, either established by the king or the states, shall be hereafter abolished, as being the means to further sovereignty or tyranny; and every Swedish man shall enjoy the right to be judged by that court to which he belongs, after the law of Sweden: but if it should happen, that any of so high a birth, or the senators, or a whole college, should prove guilty of so high crimes and misdemeanors, that it concerns the king, the realm, or the majesty of the crown, and that the criminal could not be judged neither by the King's Bench, nor by the senate, then a tribunal of the realm shall be constituted, where the king shall be present, or in his place the prince royal shall preside, or the first of the hereditary princes, or the eldest senator; and whose members are to be all the senators, the field-marshal, all the presidents of the royal colleges, four of the eldest counsellors of the three King's Benches, one general, two of the eldest lieutenant-generals, two of the eldest major-generals, the eldest admiral, the two eldest vice-admirals, the two eldest rear-admirals, the chancellor of the court, and the three secretaries of state; the chancellor of justice is always solicitor; and the eldest secretary of revision shall keep the minutes. This tribunal is intitled, the trial past, to publish the judgement with the doors open, and nobody may afterwards have power to alter it, and much less to make it more severe: his majesty not deprived of his prerogative to pardon.

XVII. Next to the King's Benches follows the Military College, where now, as before, is to be a president, the master of ordnance, the quarter-master-general, and the wonted counsellors of war, who must be well used to accounts, and are especially to be taken out of those that are skilled in matters of war. This college has inspection and care of the land army in the kingdom, the artillery, used both in the field and in the fortresses, the body of fortification, guns, factories, weapons, ammunitions, and what belongs thereunto, the condition of the fortresses, especially at the frontiers, castles, and building for the war, the levying, enlisting, and reviewing of soldiers; and so further, according to the instructions, ordinances, and royal writs, as are already, or may hereafter be issued.

XVIII. The whole land army and navy of the kingdom, with the high and low commanders thereof, shall take the oath of fidelity and allegiance to his majesty, the realm,
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and the states, according to the established form. The army of horse and foot, as well as the mariners, continues, as it is appointed, according to the sanction, called *Indelnings-Werk*, and is to be maintained by the contracts made with the peasantry and the towns, which are to be narrowly performed, obeyed, and kept, until his majesty, with the states, shall find it necessary to alter them in any way.

XIX. No colonel, or any other of the military commanders, may, without his majesty's own order, summon any home-sent troops to assemble, excepted the usual rendezvous of the regiments, unless in case of an unexpected invasion of the enemies of the kingdom, which shall then be instantly reported to his majesty; the chief command belonging to him alone over his whole army and navy, as it has always been usual in former, and for the country the most flourishing and happy times.

XX. The third college of the realm is the Board of Admiralty, wherein is to be a president, and the members are to be all the admirals and flag-officers present; but for the better managing of these affairs, in his majesty's council there shall be at least one senator who hath served in the navy, and is experienced in the marine. This college has the inspection and care of the navy of the realm, with all things thereto belonging, as well the building of the ships, their equipping and furnishing with guns, as the victualling, the raising of the marines, the company of divers, the pilotry, and all other business thereto belonging, according to the instructions, royal writs, and ordinances, as are already, or may hereafter be issued.

XXI. The fourth college is the Chancery of the realm, where one of the senators always is president, having, as members, one or more of the senators, one chancellor of the court, the secretaries of state, and the usual counsellors of chancery. In this college, all the statutes, ordinances, and recesses, concerning the kingdom in general, and the privileges of particular towns and persons, are framed and penned, especially commissions for places, edicts, writs, and warrants: hereto belong likewise all the records and rolls of the diets and other assemblies, alliances with foreign powers, treaties of peace with enemies, the due dispatching of envoys, all the counsels the king ordinarily takes from the senators, or some of them, and the records thereof, as well as all what is issued under his majesty's name and seal. This college has likewise the necessary care for the post-offices in the whole kingdom and the adjacent provinces, in order that they, under the inspection of the chief director, may be duly administered. The secretaries of state are to take particular care that the resolutions, according to his majesty's decision, and in conformity with the records, may be readily and speedily, duly, and in good order, issued, without the least neglect, in what view soever it might be. Should any person prove so rash as to issue a warrant, contrary to his majesty's decision, and therewith endeavour to surprize his majesty, (which, in such a multitude of expeditions, easily might happen) the same person shall, after trial and lawful judgement, be removed from his place, and punished as the crime deserves. Nor shall, therefore, any warrant be hereafter, more than hitherto, obeyed and executed, without due counterfignation, except in military affairs. This college is besides to follow the ordinance of the chancery, the instructions, writs, and royal statutes, which are already, or may hereafter be issued.

XXII. His majesty denominates in the senate, but without voting, the president of the chancery, the counsellors of chancery that are senators, the chancellor of the court, the chancellor of justice, the secretaries of state, the counsellors of chancery, as well as the secretaries of expeditions, and chuses them to whom his majesty has the best trust. In the same manner his majesty's envoys to foreign courts are to be constituted.

XXIII. The fifth college of the realm is the College of the Chamber, which has a president and the usual counsellors of the chambers. There all who have any business with the income and expences of the king and the crown, are to receive their order and give their accounts, according to the instructions, writs, and ordinances, hitherto issued, or
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which may hereafter be enacted. The care and endeavour of this college shall be to see that the rents and taxes be duly and seasonably gathered and increased, the ground well cultivated and improved by a good tillage and husbandry, in order that the *Regalia Fisci* may not be neglected, forfeited, and purloined; but the substance of the realm by all means amended, adapted to the expences, kept in order, and in due time received, so that the publick credit may not be lost; but that his majesty, in case of need, can depend upon aid and assistance as well within the kingdom as abroad. The great custom-house, with its receipt and accounts, as well as the petty land-tolls and the excise, appertain likewise, under the inspection of a chief director, to the care of the college of the chamber, where commissions are to be given to the respective custom-house-officers and gatherers, and due security for his majesty to be observed.

XXIV. In the Exchequer is to be a president and the usual commissioners of the Exchequer. Hereunto belongs the disposition and distribution of the cash of the crown; and here likewise every one that handles the king's money, in due time ought to come in with their accounts (*Færslag*) according to what their instructions ordain. The estimates must also in due time every year be settled, and thereby the establishment, or list of the year 1696, be the basis and rule; and care be taken, that the officers may be paid out of the incomes and coffers of the crown. But the aforesaid list may not be exceeded or augmented, should not the unavoidable service and interest of the king and the kingdom require it. In the list shall not only subsist the determined sum for his majesty's privy purse, which always is left to his majesty's particular will and disposition, but also a sum annually to be appropriated to extraordinary issues, and managed after his majesty's underwritten and countersigned order: the whole, according to the instructions, writs, and ordinances, as are already, or may hereafter be enacted.

XXV. His majesty denominates in the senate, but without voting, the president and the commissioners of the Exchequer, out of such persons as, by faithfulness and skill in this interesting matter, have proved themselves worthy of his majesty's trust.

XXVI. The College of the Mines shall likewise have a president and the usual counsellors and assessors; all such persons, who by learning and experience have made themselves qualified to be officers of judicature, and also have acquired a solid knowledge in metallurgick matters, and all the sciences thereto belonging. This college has inspection and care of all what concerns the rise and improvement of the mines and forges.

XXVII. The College of Commerce has also a president, the usual counsellors, assessors and commissioners, who have a consummate knowledge in the matters of commerce and trade. It is the incumbent duty of this college to take care that the commerce may prosper and increase, that the manufactures may be supported, the work-houses well regulated and maintained, and duty, (*Licent*) portory, custom-ordinances and taxes observed; over and above what instructions, writs, and statutes, as are at present prescribed, or hereafter shall be ordained.

XXVIII. The Revision of the Chamber must likewise have a president, who, with the usual members, takes care, not only that all juridical affairs, there depending, may be lawfully judged and executed by the serjeants at law, but also that the annual accounts of the crown, without any delay, from that very time they are sent to the Royal College of the Chamber, and the Revision of the Chamber takes notice thereof, may be surveyed, explained, elaborated, and finally decided; all according to the instructions, writs, and ordinances, which are already, or may hereafter be issued.

XXIX. The Lord High Steward of the Realm is one of the Senators, in whose inspection his majesty's court, palace, and household are, and who rules, keeps, and takes care of his table and servants of the court, with all what thereto belongs.

XXX. His Majesty's Court and Household is to be at his own peculiar disposition; his majesty alone being able to alter, change, and reform whatever he should find necessary.

XXXI.

XXXI. The grand governor (Ofver-Ståthallare) of Stockholm, the captain-lieutenant, lieutenant and quarter-master of the life-guard-man, the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the foot-guard, and also the colonel of the horse-guard, the colonel of the life-dragoons, the colonel and lieutenant-colonel of the artillery, the general-adjutants and the commandants of the frontier towns, are all charges of trust, which his majesty grants or recalls in fitting senate, yet without voting.

XXXII. All the colleges are bound to assist each other in all what can be conducive to the good and emolument of the king and the kingdom, whenever it shall be required and necessary: yet one college must not incroach, or do any hindrance and prejudice to the other; but each attend to its business with due activity, care, sedulity, faith, and prudence. The presidents, when they are present in their colleges, enjoy their due power and authority; but when they are absent in the king's, or their own private affairs, although they then keep the title and honour due to their quality, yet they cannot order, dispose, and command any thing that belongs to the charge of presidents, till they shall return and be seated in their regular function. During their absence, the eldest member of the college performs, with equal right, authority, and effect, all what is adherent to the charge. The colleges are accountable to the king for their behaviour when he requires, and shall answer nobody but him alone for their administration.

XXXIII. The regency of the provinces is established in certain governments just as they now are constituted; so that there never, for the future, shall be any general-governor in this realm, if not on a very peculiar emergency, and then for a short time: also shall there no appanage, province, or government be bestowed; but the provinces shall be divided in the same governments they now, according to the Form of Regency de Anno 1720, actually are.

XXXIV. The prince heir apparent to the crown of Sweden, and also the princes of the royal Swedish blood, cannot have any appanage, or general-government, but must depend upon such annual allowance that can be allotted them from the Exchequer, which money, for the hereditary princes, must not be less than one hundred thousand dollars S. mt. * from the day they shall be declared of age, which is at twenty-one years. The princes of the Swedish blood, who are more distant from the crown, shall have such an annual pension for their maintainance, as can be convenient and suitable to their birth. Yet they can be distinguished with the titles of duthies, as in old times has been in fashion; but without any right to those provinces whose name they bear, which always shall be incorporated under one head and ruler, without diminution or separation.

XXXV. Concerning the sustenance of the prince royal, who always is the reigning king, his eldest son, or grand-son, in a direct descending line, it must be bestowed in the same manner as established for the late king Adolphus Friedrichus his son's, our now reigning most gracious king's Gustavus's the III. annual maintainance. And when he is come to the age of eighteen years, he shall be admitted into the council of the king.

XXXVI. No prince of the Swedish blood, although he may be prince royal, or hereditary prince, or of a more distant line, may marry without the king's knowledge and consent. In the case any one should contravene, he shall be judged after the Swedish law, and the children be disinherited.

XXXVII. The king being sick, or absent upon a long journey, then the regency is to be administered by those of the senate, whom the king has denominated for that purpose: but if the king should fall sick so suddenly that he cannot give any orders how the affairs of the realm should be managed, then all the warrants and decrees are to be signed by the four eldest senators and the president of the chancery: these five together are to exercise the royal power in all affairs that require a quick dispatch; but they are not in-

* About £4166.

titled to denomination of employments, nor to conclude alliances, before the king being so restored to health, that he himself can take in hands the affairs of government; and then these shall be accountable to the king how business has been dispatched. But if the king dies, and the prince royal is under age, then the government of the realm is to be administered in the manner above-mentioned, unless that the late king had made any testamentary disposition; in which case it shall be according to the king's said testament.

XXXVIII. The states of the realm must not fail to convene, when called by the king, on time and place indicated, there to consult with his majesty on such affairs, whereabout his majesty desires their meeting. Nobody else but the king alone shall have the power to call the states to a publick diet, except in the minority of the king; then the tutors* exercise this power. But if the crown should happen to be vacant by the extinction of the whole royal family on the male side (for which sad event the gracious God beware!), then the states of the kingdom are bound, without any convocation, on the 30th day after the death of the king, of themselves to meet at Stockholm, according to our act of convention, de dato Junii 23d, 1743; which act also expresses the penalty on whosoever in that case should endeavour, with practices and conspiracies, to incroach upon the free election of the states. In that unhappy event, it is incumbent on the wardens of the house of nobles, the chapter of Upsala, and the court of magistrates at Stockholm, instantly to publish it in all the provinces, for the knowledge of all who are concerned: and whereas the provincial governors then are obliged, each in his territory, to make known the demise of the king to all the inhabitants, it is expected, that so many will be present before the appointed time, that they may be able to save and defend the liberty of the country, and a new successor to the crown be chosen.

XXXIX. The states of the kingdom are bound, with faithful concern, to leave intermeddle all the royal prerogatives, after the dictates of the Swedish law, so that they shall be kept in their full vigour and strength, in order that all what in such manner appertains to the royal authority shall be zealously and carefully maintained, defended, and strengthened; wherefore, nothing of these fundamental laws is to be reformed, augmented, or diminished, without the concert and agreement of the king, on purpose that no unlawfulness might render invalid the enacted law, or the liberty of the subjects, together with the king's rights, be invaded and subdued; but each be in possession of his due rights and privileges: to that end all the statutes, from the year 1680 till this present time, which have been considered as fundamental laws, in virtue of this, shall be abrogated and rejected.

XL. The king shall have no power to make new laws without the knowledge and assent of the states, nor abrogate an old one received formerly.

XLI. The states shall have no power to abrogate old laws, nor to make new ones, without the king's consent and approbation.

XLII. When a new law is to be settled, the following method shall be observed: if the states of the realm wish for a new statute, then they are to consult among themselves, and, after they are come to agreement, the project is to be presented to his majesty by their four speakers, for to perceive the king's sentiment. His majesty thereupon asks the advice of the senate; and when he himself has pondered it, and fixed his resolution, he calls the states to publick meeting in the Great-Hall (Riks-Salen), and gives them, in a short speech, his consent and agreement, or else the reasons for his refusal. But if the king should propose a new law, he is at first to communicate it to the senate; and when the senators have given their advice to the protocol, the whole matter is to be delivered to the states, who, after having consulted, and come to an agreement amongst themselves, ask for a day to present their consent to his majesty in the Great-Hall: but if it happens to be a refusal, then they deliver their reasons for it in writing by their four speakers.

* Guardians.

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LXIII. If there should be raised some new question about the true meaning of the law, as in former times frequently has happened, then it shall be decided in the same manner as in the 42d article here above is enacted.

XLIV. Although it always is an appurtenance to the Crown to coin money, yet the states have reserved themselves, when any raising or debasing of the standard, or intrinsic value, should be designed or undertaken, that such a reformation shall not come to pass without their knowledge and agreement.

XLV. The king is to defend and save the country, particularly from foreign and hostile invasion; but he cannot against the tenor of the law, his royal oath and assurance, levy any aids for war, new taxes, enrolling of men, or other duties, without the knowledge of the states and their free will and consent: yet, that unhappy case excepted, when the kingdom should be attacked by an army, then his majesty has power to take such measures, for the security of the realm, as he shall judge convenient for the good of his subjects; but as soon as the war is finished, the states must be called, and the new taxes in behalf of the war quite abolished.

XLVI. The assemblies of the states are not to subsist longer than at most three months: and in order to avoid that the country being aggrieved by the expences of long diets, as has happened heretofore, the king is impowered, after that time, to dissolve the assembly, and send away the deputies each to his own home; and if, in the like occasion, no new subsidies were granted, the old ones then are to subsist.

XLVII. The states are entitled to denominate and chuse the persons who are to be seated in those committees, with which the king will please to consult about such business as he designs shall be kept secret. These members are invested with all that right and authority which appertains to the states themselves: but all matters that can be published shall be communicated to the states, and imparted to their deliberation.

XLVIII. The king has no power to wage war without the assent and agreement of the states.

XLIX. No other minutes, but of such affairs that have been under the deliberation of the king with the states, can be required or delivered to them.

L. The state and condition of the Exchequer shall be laid open before the states of the realm, in order to take cognizance that the publick money has been spent to the good and welfare of the country.

LI. If a member of the states, during the diet, or on his journey to or from the diets, should be injured and wronged with words and deeds, when he has made known that he is in that quality and business, it shall be punished as a breach of the king's peace.

LII. His majesty assures to maintain all the states of the kingdom in their duly acquired old privileges, immunities, rights, and liberties: and also, no new privileges for any one of the states, without the knowledge, advice, and consent of all the four states, shall be given or imparted.

LIII. To his majesty's gracious care alone the German provinces are left, that they may be governed according to the Laws of the empire, and the tenor of the treaty of Westphaly.

LIV. The cities and towns of the kingdom are to remain in their duly acquired privileges and rights, which were granted and given them by former kings; yet so, that they are to be fitted and adapted to the circumstances of the times, for the good and advantage of the commonwealth.

LV. The bank of the states is to remain hereafter as before, under their guarantee, and at their own disposition, so that it is to be administered according to the rules and statutes already enacted, or such as the states will establish for the future.

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4 I

LVI. The

LVI. The cash of pensions belonging to the army shall remain, according to the ordinances already confirmed, or such as his majesty, with the faithful military commanders and deputies from the regiments, will agree to.

LVII. If this Law in any point should be found obscure, the literal contents must be observed, till the king and the states, in the manner expressed hereabove, articles XXXIX. and XLII. shall agree upon the true sense.

All this, We, now here assembled States, have judged necessary for the regular government of the realm, our liberty and security, to ratify and enact for us, our absent fellow-subjects, our posterity born and unborn. We declare and protest hereby anew, that we bear the greatest abhorrence to a king's despotick power, or the so-called sovereignty; deeming that our highest felicity, honour, and advantage, to be and dwell free and self-independent, law-giving, but law-observing states, under the sway of a king in power, but bound to the law; both of us tied together and protected by the law, who preserves us and our dear country from the dangers which are the sad effects of disorder, licentiousness, despotism, and an Aristocratick government of many, to the detriment of the whole society, and to the grievance and distress of every subject. We are so much the more assured to have an orderly, lawful, and happy government, as his majesty has declared, that he will regard it as his greatest honour to be the first citizen amongst a free people; and we are hopeful that the like sentiments will be propagated in the Royal Family, from father to son, till the latest times of the world. Therefore we declare enemy to us and the country whoever shall be so imprudent and malignant a fellow-subject, as to endeavour to draw us off from this sanction by cheat and craft, secret plots or open violence, in order to intrude upon us royal despotism or sovereignty; or, under the pretence and show of liberty, overthrow these laws, which, when they corroborate a true and useful liberty, shut the doors to licentiousness and confusion. Whoever it may be, shall be punished without mercy, according to the plain law of Sweden. We assure also, in virtue of our sworn fealty and this form of government, that we shall keep loyal obedience to his majesty, fulfil his orders in all that is due and warrantable before God and men, for him to command, and for us to do, all rights being safe, that belong to him and ourselves, as it becomes faithful men and subjects.

Signed and sealed in Stockholm the 21st day of August, in the year after the birth of Our Saviour 1772.

For the Nobility,
A. G. LEIONHUFWUD.
h. t. Landtmarshal.
(L. S.)

For the Clergy.
AND. H. FORSSENIUS,
Speaker.
(L. S.)

For the Burghers.
JOH. H. HOCHSCHILD,
In the place of the Speaker.
(L. S.)

For the Peasantry,
JOSEPH HANSSON,
Speaker.
(L. S.)

All this here above written, We ourselves not only receive as a firm fundamental law, but We ordain likewise, and enjoin all who are bound to Us and our Successors to the reign, with fidelity, allegiance, and loyalty, to acknowledge, keep, and obey this form of government. For the more certainty, We have signed this with our own hand, and caused Our Royal Seal to be put hereunder, at Stockholm, the 21st day of August in the year after the birth of Our Saviour one thousand seven hundred and the seventy second:

GUSTAVUS.



N^o II.

Value of the EXPORTS and IMPORTS from and to ENGLAND
and RUSSIA, SWEDEN, and DENMARK, from CHRISTMAS
1778 to CHRISTMAS 1782.

	RUSSIA.					SWEDEN.					DENMARK.				
	Value of Exports.			Value of Imports.		Value of Exports.			Value of Imports.		Value of Exports.			Value of Imports.	
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1779	306,072	15	11	1,201,377	14	4	108,403	4	7	252,431	4	2	150,615	2	4
1780	161,031	10	5	1,150,429	12	11	49,678	10	5	144,180	17	1	156,085	19	5
1781	137,967	6	7	1,206,806	18	7	62,510	8	10	212,414	19	11	172,012	19	9
1782	196,577	9	10	1,185,844	14	4	56,083	2	7	163,219	7	11	164,732	2	4
													73,171	13	5
													86,731	4	4
													94,639	1	10
													73,038	9	2

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P. 9. note, read *Slovo i delo, words and deeds*.—P. 10. l. 11. read *arbitrary*.—P. 17. l. 2. from the bottom, read *Ismaïloffski*.—P. 25. l. 3. read *yacht*.—P. 39. note 2. l. 6. read *Kexholm*.—P. 50. l. 18. read *sun-rise*.—P. 58. l. 24. read *Alborg*.—P. 63. l. 6. read 1767; and l. 7. read 85th.—P. 72. l. 5. read *exterminating*.—P. 81. note, l. 20. read *respectively*.—P. 87. l. 5. from bottom, dele *memory*.—P. 91. note, l. 3. from bottom, read *Tchernigof*.—P. 102. l. 3. read *Tchernigof*, and read *Pereaslavl*.—P. 107. l. 19. read *subjects pay*.—P. 136. note, l. 7. for *were* read *was*.—P. 139. note, l. 1. read *Ugrians*.—P. 144. l. 18. after *Arabia* insert *and*.—P. 153. l. 1. for *to* read *for*.—P. 211. l. 12. read *Gnide*.—P. 254. l. 14. dele *it*.—P. 257. l. 5. dele *the*.—P. 279. l. 1. for *its* read *their*.—P. 309. l. 14. dele *frequently*.—P. 320. l. 10. for *dreadful* read *dreary*.—P. 322. l. 12. for *sbeeted* read *skirted*; l. 26. for *apartments* read *apartment*.—P. 337. N. 3. l. 4. for *les* read *tes*.—P. 369. l. 13. after *dissolving* dele *of*.—P. 375. last line, for *constitution* read *constituents*.—P. 410. l. 16 and 19. read *thesis*.—P. 411. for *particular* read *certain*.—P. 415. l. 21. read *manuscript*.—P. 418. l. 10. read *resemble*.—P. 420. l. 22. dele *a*.—P. 429. l. 10. for *into* read *in*.—P. 430. l. 6. read 1727.—P. 433. l. 18. read 1732.—P. 437. l. 14. read *Paris*; l. 19. read *expectations*.—P. 440. note 1. read *Dryander*.—P. 442. l. 17. for *preserved* read *visible*.—P. 455. l. 16. read *superintendent*.—P. 460. note, l. 7. read *seraphim*; and l. 22. read *amounts*.—P. 482. l. 12. read *suice*; l. 14. read *aquarum*, and add *repagulum*.—P. 543. l. 24. after *true* insert *that*.—P. 566. note 1. read *plicatilis*.—P. 566. l. 12. for *from* read *for*.—P. 567. l. 10. read *Amentaceæ*.

